THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Fall 2017 *Volume 25, Number 3*

Connecticut "Snipe nose" copper, Miller 33.28-Z.16, New Haven Mint (See Page 23)
Image Courtesy of Neil Rothschild

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The Museum of the American Revolution Trip Report

Locating the Copper Works at Hambden /
Understanding Operations at the New Haven Mint

C4 Classics: Reminiscences of Colonial Coin Collecting

C4 Library Challenge

Announcements/Advertisements

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1786 New Jersey Copper. Maris 12-G, W-4790. Rarity-4. Date Under Plow, No Coulter, Shaggy Mane. VF-20.

1786 New Jersey Copper. Maris 12-I, W-4795. Rarity-5. Date Under Plow, No Coulter, Shaggy Mane. EF-40. *Ex Craige.*

1786 New Jersey Copper. Maris 14-J, W-4810. Rarity-1. Wide Shield. AU-50.

1786 New Jersey Copper. Maris 19-M, W-4900. Rarity-5. Wide Shield, Drunken Die Cutter. VF-25. *Ex Picker.*

1786 New Jersey Copper. Maris 21-N, W-4910. Rarity-3. Wide Shield. AU-50. *Ex Jenks-Ryder-Boyd-Ford.*

1786 New Jersey Copper. Maris 23-R, W-4945. Rarity-3. Narrow Shield, Curved Plow Beam. AU-50. *Ex L.R. Stack.*

1786 New Jersey Copper. Maris 24-P, W-4965. Rarity-2. Narrow Shield, Curved Plow Beam. AU-50. *Ex L.R. Stack.*

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1787 New Jersey Copper. Maris 29-L, W-5075. Rarity-5. Outlined Shield. Fine-15. *Ex Hessberg.*

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1787 New Jersey Copper. Maris 52-i, W-5280. Rarity-3. Outlined Shield. EF-45.

1787 New Jersey Copper. Maris 55-l, W-5300. Rarity-5. PLURIRUS. Fine-15.

1787 New Jersey Copper. Maris 55-m, W-5305. Rarity-4. Second U over S in PLURIBUS. VF-35. *Ex L.R. Stack.*

1787 New Jersey Copper. Maris 60-p, W-5340. Rarity-4. Large Planchet, Plain Shield, PLURIBS. Fine-15.

1787 New Jersey Copper. Maris 61-p, W-5345. Rarity-5. Large Planchet, Plain Shield, PLURIBS. Fine-15. *Ex Picker-Norweb.*

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Membership questions, address changes, and dues should be sent to Charlie Rohrer at P.O. Box 25, Mountville, PA 17554. Dues are $30 regular (including 1st class mailing of the *Newsletter within the US*) and $40 (for 1st class mailing outside the US); $10 for junior members (under 18 residing in the US) and $15 (under 19 residing outside the US).

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PRESIDENT'S CORNER

(Jack Howes)

Hope to see many of you at our convention in Baltimore (Nov 9-11). It is always a fun, long weekend. I am often in and around our C4 area at the Expo. Please stop by and say "Hi." Bring some coins to look at! The educational evening will again be Thursday and, as in recent years, there is a $25 charge for dinner. Please get tickets from the C4 table.

Recently I was approached by Roger Moore about the flood of reproductions of colonial coins [also sometimes referred to as fakes, copies and/or fantasies] that are appearing on eBay. Many if not most such **tokens** are being described by sellers as medallions. Roger was concerned that many of these items were deceptive enough that they could fool new collectors. A St. Patricks example is illustrated below. And if they were artificially aged with simulated circulation wear, they might fool a lot of collectors. We discussed what the club might be able to do to educate new collectors (or really any collector for that matter) about these fakes. I proposed that we consider a gallery of images of such reproductions. I discussed this idea with the C4 board and everyone agreed it was a good idea and something the club should try and educate collectors about. There were some reservations about using images from eBay, so we will only use images for which we have publication rights. Look for this on our website around year-end. This will be an evolving project. As new examples surface they will be added to the gallery. Any members with examples of such items are encouraged to photograph them and submit them for possible inclusion in our rogues' gallery. Such images may be submitted to your regional VP. Email addresses for all regional VPs are included in each issue of the newsletter.

Many such reproductions appear to originate in Asia these days but there is a long history of making similar reproductions for collectors and as tourist trinkets in this country. Such modern reproductions should have "COPY" stamped on them but many do not. There is a Wikipedia article about Spanish dollars that uses such a reproduction (illustrated below) without copy stamped on it to illustrate a **genuine 1776 bust milled dollar**. I have been meaning to fix this! Thomas Wyatt made a series struck copies of Massachusetts silver in the 1850s. These are quite collectible. A Wyatt NE sixpence is illustrated below. Not very deceptive if you know what a genuine one looks like. There are other examples some deceptive some not.

What this gallery will not be is a way to identify sophisticated forgeries: forgeries meant to fool experts. Such items require careful study, in hand, by experts. There are a couple of related categories of reproductions that we will be soliciting short articles about: casts and electros. Casts are copies made by creating a sand casting of an actual coins and then pouring hot metal into the cast. Contemporary casts of colonials do exist and they are collectible, modern casts not so much. Both casts and electros have a long history and can be collectible in their own right, particularly for ones that are not modern and/or well done. Many early collectors had casts or electros made of rare types or varieties. These can sometimes fool even experts. Museums were a major source of fine electros as they were used to show both sides of a coin of which the museum had only one example. But they can also be a source of confusion for sellers and new collectors. A museum quality electro is illustrated below.

An interesting example of such a situation happened recently. An eBay seller listed a New Jersey copper without attribution (also illustrated below). I looked at it while it was listed and decided it was some kind of cast of a Maris 24-Q. I sent the seller a note indicating such. The seller let the listing run and a Recent C4 member put in a large snipe bid. Turns out he was still the underbidder but he thought it was a genuine Mars 24-Q (5 known). I never did find out who bought it but the seller did inform the buyer that it was likely a cast and allowed the buyer to return it. He relisted it as a cast copy. Lesson from this is never bid on a coin in eBay if the seller does not offer returns!.

Any member with further thoughts about this effort is encouraged to email me directly.

Finally, there are other sites that have galleries of reproductions, copies and fantasies. One such is Dan Sedwick's on fake cobs:

http://www.sedwickcoins.com/fake_cobs.htm

Please enjoy this issue of the C4 newsletter and if you have any expertise in casts or electros, consider writing an article for the newsletter. We are always looking for new material whether it is long or short!

St. Patrick's Medallion

Fantasy Spanish Dollar

Wyatt's NE Sixpence

Cast New Jersey 24-Q

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C4 GRANT ENABLES RESTORATION OF IMPORTANT NEW HAVEN MINT ACCOUNT BOOK

(Jay Knipe)

Recently, several events significant to the study of New Haven copper coinage have appeared. The publication of a transcription of one of two account books maintained by the New Haven Mint,[1] was followed by a detailed summary of both Connecticut mint account books.[2] Additionally, copies of these documents have been uploaded to the *Newman Numismatic Portal*.[3] The availability of these documents has raised interest and awareness of the historical context of the Connecticut coinage carried out in New Haven in the late 1780s.

Unfortunately, I never was very concerned with the rich history associated with the manufacture, distribution and circulation of Connecticut coppers. However, after reading Christopher McDowell's book covering Abel Buell and the coinage of Connecticut coppers,[4] I was inspired to locate and read some of the original documentation pertaining to Connecticut coinage. From a search of articles covering Connecticut/New Haven coinage published in both the *Colonial Newsletter* and the *C4 Newsletter*, I found only references that cited documents obtained from the New Haven Museum (New Haven Colony Historical Society at the time of that writing).[5] The apparent lack of cited reference material housed in the New Haven Museum made me curious whether some material had been overlooked. It was at this point that I "rediscovered" these two account books, following the path taken by Randy Clark eight years earlier.

A search of the archived documents listed on the New Haven Museum website[6] revealed two items of potential interest. The first, a 1787 document[7] is described as:

> *Company for Coining Copper. Ledger, 1787-1791. In 1785, the Connecticut Assembly authorized a company specific for the purpose of coining pennies. This "Company for Coining Coppers" employed Abel Buell to manage the operation in New Haven. Buell and others were stockholders in the company. This ledger contains accounts concerning the stamping and sale of coppers in 1787 and 1788; entries after that concern the sale of rum, brandy and other merchandise, since the copper company had failed. The ledger is in several hands which have not been identified.*

The second, a document from 1788[8] is described as:

> *Company for Coining Copper. Ledger. 1788. A more "official" ledger than Item #8, kept by Jeremiah Platt and recording shipments to the Federal Mint, wages at the Copper Works in Hamden, and other expenses.*

Both documents are each part of what once were larger volumes. The 1787 book was partially bound, with the top several pages loose; the entire document being quite fragile. Entries in this work, entered by several individuals, begin on February 12, 1787 and continue into early 1791. But, as the Museum's description suggests, entries relevant to copper coinage in New Haven end on May 12, 1788 (there are only three entries for 1788). Some pages appear to be numbered,

but the numbers are incomplete and nearly illegible. The 1788 document was clearly part of a larger volume; the extant pages are hand-numbered beginning with page 61 (February 26, 1788) and conclude with page 88 (December 27, 1788). The pages have been removed from their original enclosure and are now individually encased in 3-holed plastic sleeves contained in a binder. This is the same document alluded to by Randy Clark.[9]

With the assistance of Museum staff, I photographed all pages from the 1788 document (February 26 to December 27), and those from February 12, 1787 to May 12, 1788 from the 1787 book.[10] I provided a set of these image files to the Museum.

Additionally, I asked if the Museum would perform conservation on the poorly-bound 1787 account book if a suitable donation or grant were made for that purpose. The Museum staff were very enthusiastic and indicated that the cost would be about $200-250. In February 2017, I presented a request to the C4 Board asking that they approve a $250 grant to the New Haven Museum for the conservation of the account book. Following rapid approval of this request, a check was promptly sent to the Museum and the work began. As the Museum is largely volunteer-based, the work progressed slowly, but was completed in May 2017. I was given a copy of the final report on this effort for inclusion in the C4 library. The report details the laborious process of acid-cleaning the pages and the subsequent binding of all the pages into a secure, well-constructed volume.

The Museum staff were excited about this project and expressed sincere appreciation to C4 for the grant. Additionally, this project plus the recent publications and discussions in print about these account books have made the Museum more aware of Connecticut coinage and have raised their interest to do more to promote this local coinage to the population of New Haven.

References and Notes

[1] Clark, Randy and McDowell, Christopher, "Transcript of the 1788 Connecticut and Federal Mint Account Book," *CNL* 163 (April 2017), pp. 4541-4569.

[2] Clark, Randy, "Summary of Findings from Two Connecticut Mint Account Books," *C4N* 25-1 (Spring 2017), pp. 12-30.

[3] Newman Numismatic Portal (www.nmp.wustl.edu), Archived as 1.) "Leavenworth Account Book for 1787" and 2.) "1788 Connecticut and Federal Mint Account book."

[4] McDowell, Christopher R., *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages,* Ann Arbor, MI, C4, Sheridan Books, 2015.

[5] Bryant, Norman, "The New Haven Mint," *CNL* 50 (November 1977), pp. 614-621. This paper chronicled Mr. Bryant's efforts working with the New Haven Historical Society to obtain information concerning the location and possible operations of the New Haven mint (thought to be located on the grounds of Samuel Broome's home).

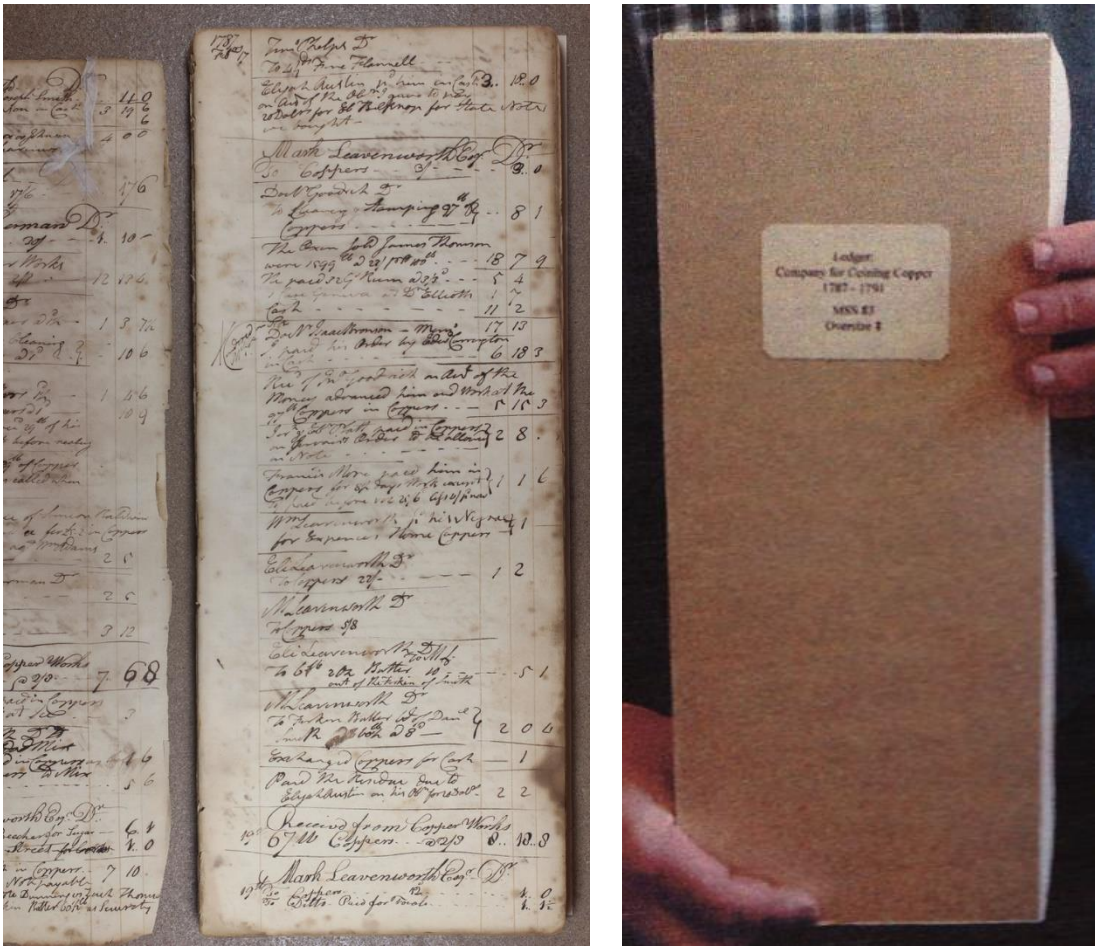
[6] New Haven Museum, 114 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, CT 06510 (www.newhavenmuseum.org). The Museum was founded in 1862 as The New Haven Colony Historical Society. The holdings of its Whitney Library exceed 30,000 volumes and 320 manuscript collections, as well as architectural drawings, maps, broadsides, newspapers, and other items.

[7] Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS 83, *Accounting Book, Journal and Ledger Miscellany*, 1725-1912, Oversized Item No. 8.

[8] Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS 83, *Accounting Book, Journal and Ledger Miscellany*, 1725-1912, Oversized Item No. 9.

[9] Clark, Randy, "Jarvis' Delivery of Federal Fugio Cents," *C4N* 18-4 (Winter 2010), pp. 5-12. This paper indicates that "A 1788 dated account book was recently located from the Broome/Platt/Jarvis consortium related to coining of Federal and Connecticut Copper."

[10] The museum allowed me to use a photographic copy stand equipped with lights, to which I mounted the camera (Canon Rebel EOS 600D, 18 MP, with a Sigma 108 mm F 1.8 macro lens; high quality .JPG images captured).



The Ledger, before (left) and after restoration (right). Photos by author.

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[Editors Note: The following report of the Numismatic Society of Ireland, Northern Branch, was authored my Alexey Shitvov. It is reprinted here, in its entirety, and in as close to the original format as possible, with the very gracious permission of the Society and its Northern Branch Chairman, Alan Dunlop. Many thanks to the NSI-NB!]

A MYSTERY UNSOLVED – SYDNEY F. MARTIN AT NSI-NB IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF 17TH CENTURY ST. PATRICK'S COINAGE OF IRELAND

According to the Irish Annals, in the year of our Lord 432 a former slave shepherd returned to Ireland to preach Christianity amongst the pagan Irish, following the divine "voice of the Irish". He was not received well at first when landed at Wicklow, so then he moved up north consecrating his first sanctuary at Saul. His spiritual deeds during the lifetime were legendary, as well as the epic battle for his body afterwards. Patrick was his name, and his highly ascetic monasticism, great wisdom and dauntless courage earned him apostolic glory and brightest disciples in the centuries to come. For more than a thousand years since his arrival in Ireland, Saint Patrick has been synonymous of Irish, particularly during the turbulent periods of the Irish history and national upraise.

In the numismatic history of Ireland, the iconic figure of Saint Patrick has also been about for nearly a millennium. An Anglo-Norman lord named John De Courcy struck coins in Downpatrick in the name of Saint Patrick in the late 12th century. There were other examples throughout the medieval times, but perhaps the most prolific and undoubtedly the least understood issue was that of small and large copper units, conventionally attributed as "farthings" and "halfpennies", struck sometime in the 17th century somewhere in Ireland, England or on the continent by someone very skilled in mass production for some reason that must have been so important for such an unprecedented iconography. The copper units appeared in circulation as halfpennies and farthings in Ireland and as pennies and halfpennies on Isle of Man for a short time in the late 17th century, and a large body of the coins were brought to West New Jersey in 1681 by an English Quaker merchant named Mark Newby, where they were circulated as a colonial coinage, backed by Newby's property and land. For more than three centuries the mystery of the Saint Patrick's, also referred to as the Floreat Rex, coinage has been puzzling the brightest minds of the scholars and collectors, yet no one has ever put an ultimate claim of solving this conundrum.

Syndey F. Martin, a highly successful industrialist, lecturer and currently the president of the American Numismatic Society (ANS), has embarked on a journey of gaining an ultimate insight in the history of the Saint Patrick's coinage, following his previous success in studying Rosa Americana colonial coinage of William Wood culminated in an authoritative numismatic reference. He is also the author of *The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood*, which is a must-have reference for any collector of the colonial coinage, senior and amateur alike. The methodology adopted by Sydney has been proven by time and is based on a systematic study of the dies from the largest assemblage of the coins ever amassed, including those in the personal possession, as well as in private and museum collections worldwide. The approach also includes metallographic analysis and meticulous review of the reported archaeological and less recorded metaldetectorist finds and historical records. The latter appeared to be rather inconsistent and poorly supported by the material evidence.

On his quest for new specimens and stats, and further to the previous reconnaissance visit by an American photographer William Gleckner, Sydney himself has arrived in Ireland to review in person museum and private collections in Belfast and Dublin. The Northern Branch of the Numismatic Society of Ireland (www.numsocirelandnb.com) have been extremely fortunate to host the talk presented by Sydney at Denman International Ltd, Clandeboye Road, Bangor on Saturday 27th May 2017. The venue was made available by the courtesy of Mr John Rainey, MBE, member of NSI-NB and an avid collector of the 17th century Irish coinage. The assistance of Mrs Rainey with the finger buffet and drinks was absolutely indispensable and very tasty indeed.

After the chairman's greetings and personal introductions by each NSI-NB member present, Sydney gave a very comprehensive review of the historical and modern opinions, his research methodology, key statistics and observations on the Saint Patrick's coins from various sources that form the main body of his new research catalogue. As the critical pieces of material and literary evidence were systematically revealed, it appeared that the Saint Patrick's coins were struck mainly in copper with very consistent alloy contents. A few coins were struck in silver and there is a unique piece in gold from "farthing" dies. The large and small copper weights are rather hectic and barely correlate between two nominals. The coins feature concurrent safety devices, including a splash of molten brass over the royal crown on the obverse, as well as edge reeding. The study of a peculiar fabrication feature on the "farthing" pieces, along with the die link analysis, allowed Sydney to identify two distinct groups of "farthings", which may be attributed to different issues or mints.

It is believed that the iconography of the coins is based upon the portrayal depiction of Saint Patrick that appeared in Messingham's *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum* (1624), although with some distinctive alterations possibly made to appeal to the eyes of the commoners. The obverse of the "farthing" coins of the series shows Saint Patrick dressed in bishop's garments and holding a double-cross crosier. He is depicted expelling snakes and some unidentified nefarious creatures from Ireland, symbolised by the cathedral to the right of the saint, down into the sea. The tale of the snake expulsion first appeared in 1200's in *Topographia Hibernica* by Gerald of Wales and since then has become a popular folk motif.

The obverse of the larger, "halfpenny" coin shows St Patrick preaching to his flock and holding a shamrock alluding to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. To his right is a shield with three barbicans, suggesting the city arms of Dublin. Although the written records of the parable first appeared in 1726, it has been reported by some earlier observers that the common folks in Ireland used to wear shamrocks on their garments during festivities as far back as in 1670s. The reverse design of both coins shows a king kneeling playing a harp, while devotionally gazing up on the royal crown above. The figure has been broadly identified as King David singing psalms, as king Charles I as a Christian martyr, based on the postural similarity with the allegorical frontispiece of the *Eikon Basilike* (1649), or Charles II, and even as Brian Boru, the last true high king of Ireland. The harp pillar bears a semi-nude winged female figure, which can often be found on English and Scottish coins from the second quarter of the 17th century.

The date and place of issue of the Saint Patrick's coins are still not known exactly, neither do their purpose and historical context. According to the archaeological records, the coins must have been struck before 1675, as evidenced by the presence of two "farthing" coins in a poor condition in a hoard of 273 coins recovered from the yacht Mary which sank on March 24, 1675, on its way from Dublin to Chester. Some scholars postulate the issue date as 1641-1642, yet the evidence is rather speculative. The current numismatic

literature tends to support Danforth's conjuncture that the coins were struck on the order of the Lord-Lieutenant Ormonde between 1667 and 1669.

Based upon his most comprehensive review of the available Saint Patrick's coins in existence, Sydney identified over 190 die varieties of the farthings and a substantial number of dies for the halfpennies. This has allowed him to propose a new plausible taxonomy of the die varieties. The analysis of the die cracks suggests different minting techniques for the larger and smaller coins. Given the estimated survival rate of 1-3% for the colonial coinage, Sydney proposed that there should be some 3,000 coins still around from the coin bulk once brought by Newby in West New Jersey, which would make a very representative group for accurate statistical analysis.

In his new book devoted to the Saint Patrick's coinage, Sydney argues that the coins did not actually started their life as monetary units, but rather as identity tokens. They may have been used as communion tokens as well. Given the estimated production cost, there would be just a marginal profit gained from both "farthings" and "halfpennies", which makes them economically unfeasible as currency. On the other hand, as advocated by the NSI-NB members, as identity pieces these coppers would need no safety features and high-precision manufacture (the accurate brass splash alignment). Certainly, the mystery of the Saint Patrick's coins cannot be solved without knowing exactly their dates and historical context.

Toward the end of the meeting, the speaker raised a concern with regard to the metaldetecting practices. It is believed that Saint Patrick's coins are still being found in Ireland, yet the finds are rarely reported and properly recorded. The coins are considered as a US colonial coinage and given the strength of the US market they would appear in the auction sales and on eBay with false or unidentified provenance. Each coin found within archaeological context is vital for the studies, so the numismatic societies should probably keep an eye on the matter.

A single specimen of Saint Patrick's "farthing" was displayed by the NSI-NB member Randal Scott, which drew much attention of the speaker and audience. Despite the punched hole and some weak parts, the coin appeared to be in fully identifiable condition. The coin was weighed, photographed and recorded for Sydney's virtual catalogue. For the rest, it was a great pleasure to handle a historical piece, which although being Irish by nature and symbolism can barely be found in a mediumbudget collection in Ireland.

Closing the meeting, the NSI-NB Chairman Alan Dunlop on behalf of the Society gave thanks to Sydney for the opportunity to learn on one of the most interesting periods of the Irish coinage. In recognition of the outstanding quality of the research, personal commitment and valuable contribution to the Irish numismatics, Sydney was presented with the Society Anniversary medal and a round of cheers. We all wish Sydney a great success in his studies and promise to stay alerted and share relevant finding and new information in the future.

Disclaimer: the meeting notes were recorded by Alexey Shitvov, member NSI-NB, in all sincerity. The coin illustrations and bookplates are in the open access. For corrections and details, please contact the author via http://www.numsocirelandnb.com/contact

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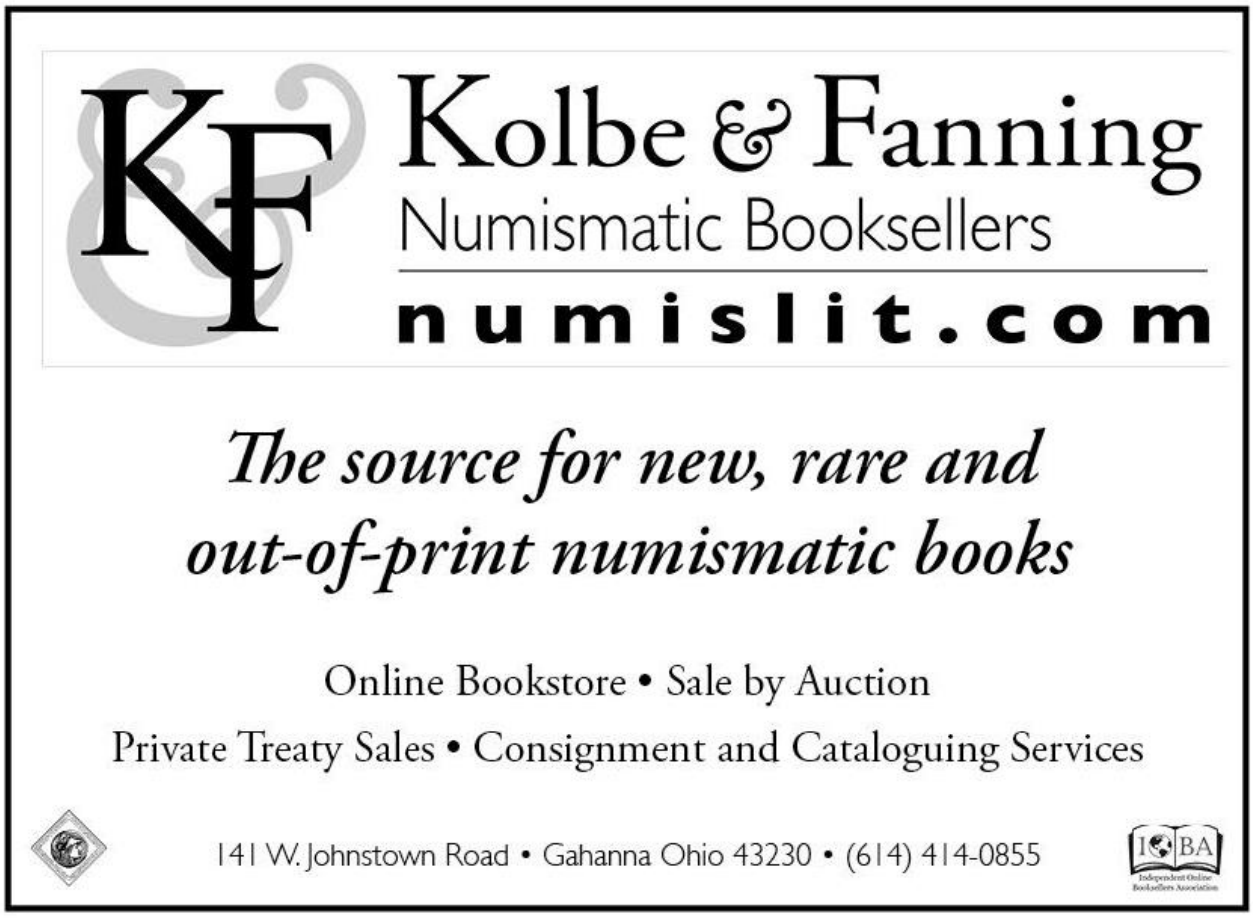
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THE FORGOTTEN BRITISH COIN CACHE OF ANNANDALE VIRGINIA

(Wayne H. Shelby)

While attending an annual coin show I was afforded the opportunity to view an interesting 1958 newspaper article tied to an English silver half-crown of King George II dated 1741. This coin is believed to have been recovered from an 18th century cache hidden within the old Hannah House in Annandale Virginia.

The article was written by Muriel Guinn, a Staff Reporter for *The Washington Post/Times Herald* and was titled *"*Wrecker Finds Cache of Old Coins As He Razes Landmark in Annandale.*"*

Wrecker Finds Cache of Old Coins As He Razes Landmark in Annandale
By Muriel Guinn Staff Reporter
The Washington Post and Times Herald (1954-1959); May 23, 1958; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The Washington pg. A1

Hidden in Chest Under Floor

Wrecker Finds Cache of Old Coins As He Razes Landmark in Annandale

By Muriel Guinn
Staff Reporter

A Manassas (Va.) house wrecker has been revealed as finder of an ancient treasure in the ruins of an old, abandoned house on Little River turnpike in the center of Annandale.

Fairfax Inscoe, 65, said he discovered two old chests in the Hannah House, an ancient brown building that has become a landmark in Annandale. Vacant for about a decade, it is being torn down to make way for a filling station.

Inscoe said he found one old chest under floorboards in the dining room. Inside were 200 English silver coins which, he said, appear to have a profile of Prince Edward II on one side. On the coins, covered with ages of dust and dirt, was an engraving which he said looks like IIXVV.

At first Inscoe said he sent the coins "out West." Then he said he had turned them over for appraisal "to a friend who

Picture on Page A18

is a high official in an organization I trust." Finally, he said, he believes "they're not worth a nickel."

The second chest, sturdy and covered with tin, turned up at the base of a kitchen cabinet, Inscoe said. He said he worked half a day just to get it free and open.

Inside were four pieces of old-fashioned silver, he said. They were a teapot with a long spout, something that looked like a lamp base, an old-fashioned pipe rack and a piece he simply could not recognize, Inscoe said.

Benjamin Cohen, an Alexandria jeweler, owns the house. Inscoe said he agreed to wreck it in return for salvage rights.

Annandale residents have been excited by rumors of the treasure. Some theorized the coins may have been intended as pay for Gen. Braddock's British Army of 1755. Another said they may have been hidden during the Civil War to escape the clutches of Yankee soldiers.

Figure 1. Washington Post/Times Herald Newspaper Article

Mr. Fairfax Inscoc was hired to demolish the residence and in the process discovered the two treasure chests. Local Annandale residents theorize the coins may have been intended as payment for General Braddock's British Army of 1755. Others theorized the treasure was hidden during the Civil War to escape confiscation by Union Troops.

The first treasure chest was recovered under the floorboards in the dining room and contained approximately 200 English silver coins erroneously reported as those of Prince Edward II with portrait. However, upon further research, it becomes evident the portrait described by Mr. Inscoc is not that of Edward II, who reigned from 1307 to 1327, but that of George II, who reigned from 1727 to 1760.

My research reveals fourteenth century Edwardian silver coins were struck as small denomination specie on small diameter planchet's as farthings, halfpennies and pennies. Evidence suggests that such small specie would not suffice as support for the British military operations in Colonial America let alone be considered as a large cache. Another factor to consider is the age difference between the coins and the hoard of 400 plus years.

The hand-written notations on the newspaper article (Figure 1.) were made by the collector who purchased the half-crown directly from Mr. Inscoc. This same collector then sold the coin, along with its documentation to his long-time acquaintance, dealer Gordon Andreas Singer.

Eventually this coin and story found its way by Mr. Singer to the annual Delaware Coin Show where I purchased it for my collection due to its historical background.

Figure 2. 1741 Annandale Hoard George II halfcrown purchased by the author.

Mr. Inscoc stated the second treasure chest was recovered at the bottom of a kitchen cabinet revealing four pieces of old fashioned silver. However, the hand-written notations provided by the first collector (Figure 1. and again, on the photo caption that accompanied the article) indicate that the find actually consisted of four pewter plates.

The remaining artifacts in the second chest included a tea pot with a long spout, a lamp base, a pipe rack and another item of uncertainty. It appears this chest did not house any coins. However, a few of the items may have been fashioned from silver.

With the support of the timely newspaper documentation, Mr. Inscoc's written comments and my further investigation it appears this hoard of 200 English silver coins would likely have been placed there by a single British Officer or by an upper-class gentleman with ties to Great Britain's interests. By law of the period, English-minted gold and silver coin were illegal to circulate in the American colonies and only it's coppers that were granted authority to circulate by the Crown.

Historical records indicate that during the American Revolution British soldiers were paid approximately 6 to 8 pence a day, mostly in English silver mixed with whatever Spanish silver or copper coin available at the time. However, it is interesting to note that most of a soldier's pay

found its way back to the unit that he served, through purchasing needed supplies, rations, wine, whiskey, rum, tobacco and numerous other items, including bread.

This article brings to light a long-forgotten hoard of uncertain origin. However, it sparked the interest of area residents and historians of the time. Future investigation and research may shed additional light as to reason, intention and possibly by whom this hoard was placed.

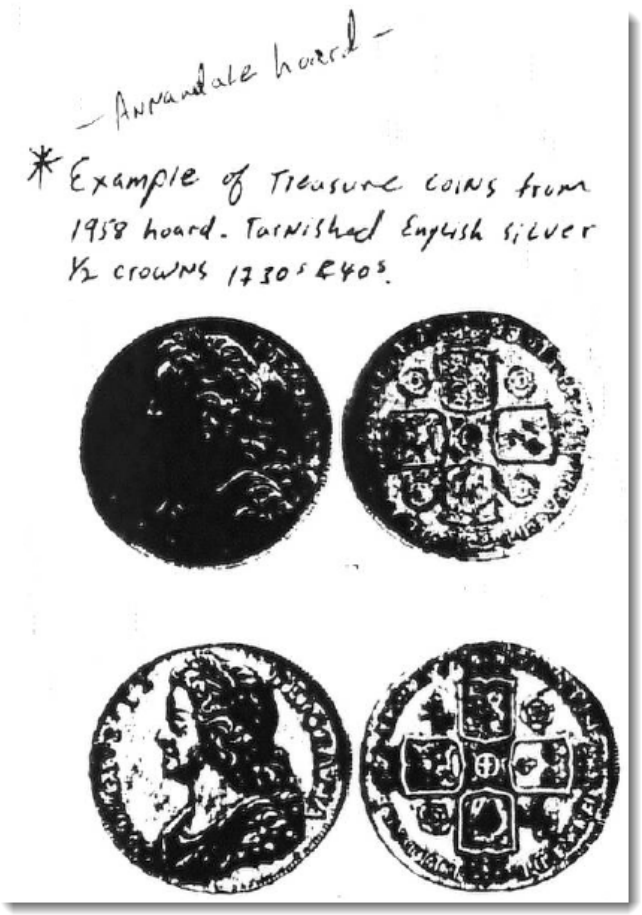

Figure 3. Images of Annandale Hoard coins, with the original collector's notes. Source unknown.

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A NUTMEGGAR IN NEW YORK

(Paul Turdo)

My family and I have been going to the Catskills almost every year since 1980 to our favorite summer resort. It was originally a farm and now has living units for vacationers. Now the family has been reduced to two of us with the "kids" tending to their own families, but we still go with friends to the "country." As soon as we get there, metal detector in hand, I tell my wife, "I'll see you in a few days." I'm exaggerating of course, because there is so much to see with such a beautiful vista of mountains and lakes.

Aside from the usual current coinage, I had found a 1819 large cent about twenty years ago on the property. The condition was a dark planchet VF with nice hairlines and "LIBERTY" on the obverse, and some green areas and light pitting on the reverse. I also found some silver coins and a musket ball over the years. This past August was the highlight in my coin hunting - Three Large cents: 1847, 1848, 1854 and add that to a 1945 quarter.

On our last morning, I decided to try one last time before our afternoon departure. I got a coin signal from my detector and dug a hole only about 4 inches down. I saw a coin edge in the side of the hole. As I retrieved it, I knew that it wasn't a “largie” because it felt very smooth and thinner, but it was about the same size as the one cent. My first inclination was that it was a dirty, electrical box punch out. I was in the shade and could not get a good view until I saw sunlight on a wooden fence post. What I saw was an indication of a bust and when "CONNEC" came in to view I said to myself, "Am I dead or is this a dream?" The reverse was legible but corroded.

1787 Connecticut copper found by the author.

Although it was the worst condition coin I have ever found, it was my "best" find. I researched it in Q. David Bowers’ book, *The Whitman Encyclopedia of Colonial and Early American Coins*, and found it to be a 1787 Miller 32.5 type.

I just thought I'd share this adventure with all my C4 friends. Thanks.

[Editor’s note: Your editor’s obligatory attempt to verify information turned up nothing to refute Paul’s attribution of the obverse. Miller obverse 32.5 is only known to be paired with reverse aa, which, on

cursory examination, seems to fit as well. In the interest of full disclosure, your editor confesses that he did not know the meaning of "Nutmeggar," but is pleased to learn that it is used to refer to a person from Connecticut, "The Nutmeg State."]

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THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION A TRIP REPORT

(Will Nipper)

If great care is not taken, a hobby such as collecting colonial coins and paper can be a gateway to more serious addictions. For me the more serious addiction is early American history in general. It started with a trip to New Orleans forty years ago. Now no book on the subject goes unread, no historic site within traveling distance unvisited, no artifact unexamined. Unable to withstand the onslaught, my wife, Debbie, has given in to the addiction as well. So, when CSPAN3's *American Artifacts* series began previewing Philadelphia's then-under-construction Museum of the American Revolution, there was quite a bit of excitement in the Nipper household. When it was announced that the museum would open on April 19, the anniversary of the first shots of the Revolutionary War being fired on Lexington's green, and a date that coincided with this year's EAC convention in Philadelphia, the die was cast for a visit.

We weren't able to attend on opening day, but rather, two days later. Sure, it would have been nice to hear Vice President Joe Biden or *1776* author David McCullough speak, but we instead had the higher privilege of being there with C4 Secretary, Jay Knipe.

Waiting outside in the rain for our appointed entry time, protected by a bristling battery of period cannon, we took in the enormous (20 x 40 feet) bronze plaques depicting the signing of the Declaration and Washington's icy crossing of the Delaware River.

The wait provided a chance to speculate on what we might see inside. It was a given that I wanted to see coins and currency. I knew that there would be muskets – lots of muskets. And I knew that some very important Washington items were there; for example, the iconic blue silk sash that he is shown wearing in Charles Wilson Peale's painting, "George Washington After the Battle of Princeton" and his equally iconic blue silk headquarters flag, or standard, the oldest known example of a thirteen-star American flag. And I knew that we would see his headquarters marquee tent, the mere survival of which is nothing short of a miracle. A truly stunning artifact!

However, the promise of the museum's promotion was to tell a much bigger story, through the eyes of "ordinary" citizens – less about the statues and more about the privates, blacksmiths and seamstresses – less about wealthy male elites and more about the women, indigenous peoples, slaves, Tories, Germans and even children. The idea of giving a full chronological account of the American Revolution while presenting so many different perspectives, each with the right mix of artifacts and context to make them come to life, seemed a tad ambitious even for a well-funded, very professionally-run museum.

I knew in advance that they had one of two early copies of the Declaration printed in German. I knew that they had a rare signed copy of Phyllis Wheatley's 1773 book, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*. Born in West Africa and sold into slavery as a child, she became North America's first published African American female author, to the astonishment of men like John Hancock, who openly doubted that a slave could be capable of writing something so good. That the museum regarded her work as special was a good sign. And, with a nice mix of period items, many of them personal, and high-tech displays, the museum did manage to touch most all of the cultural bases.

There were pleasant surprises, such as a piece of Concord's Old North Bridge and spymaster Benjamin Tallmadge's cap, under which he must have kept the secrets that won the war. Though we never quite left the twenty-first century to be mentally transported back to eighteenth, there were certainly "moments." Not usually a fan of life-size "wax" figures and constructed scenes, I ironically found myself fascinated by those of mounted Loyalists Dragoons charging with their swords. It was if Banastre Tarleton, the merciless commander, was bearing down on us personally, in a terrifying rage.

The Liberty Tree recreation, with a piece of the real elm embedded in its trunk and the recreation of a privateer's ship aside, my favorite of these scenes was the one depicting a New York mob pulling down King George's equestrian statue on July 9, 1776. Having just been read the Declaration of Independence, the mob of soldiers and sailors threw ropes around the statue, toppled it and broke it into pieces. In the exhibit, the figure of a sailor stands on a pedestal beside a recreation of the statue, offering viewers a rope and the choice to join the Revolution or remain loyal to the crown.

The original statue stood on Manhattan's bowling green and was made of gilded lead – 4,000 pounds of it. After the mob did its work, the pieces were melted and cast into 42,000 musket balls for the patriot cause, prompting one newspaper to refer to the King as "melted majesty." The head was mounted on a pike and displayed at Ft. Washington, until a Tory stole and smuggled it to London. There it was last seen under Lady Townsend's couch, in 1778. Its current whereabouts - unknown. The museum actually has on display two large surviving pieces of the statue, on loan from the Connecticut Historical Society. It is believed that they were hidden in a swamp by those afraid to be caught with them and forgotten, only to be discovered decades later when the swamps were drained.

Before reaching that point in the tour, the exhibits begin with the colonists still content to be Englishmen, then advance through the changes that occurred in the 1760s and then to the conflict itself. It is early, in the pre-war exhibits, that we saw the first numismatically-related items, a group of a half dozen brass (or pinchbeck) and copper "Admiral Vernon" medals.

Recall that Admiral Edward Vernon boasted that he could take Porto Bello (now in Panama) from the Spanish with a tiny fleet of six ships – and then did just that in 1739. Two years later, as part of a much larger force, with Major General Thomas Wentworth commanding the land forces, Vernon failed in his attempt at conquering Cartagena de Indias (now in Columbia).

Nevertheless, his conquest of Porto Bello and premature reports of early success at Cartegena triggered an explosion of souvenir medals and other items commemorating his exploits. These are examples of such medals that I believe are on loan from the American Numismatic

Society. They bear various combinations of portraits of Vernon, and other commanders, Wentworth and Ogle, with legends such as "THE SPANISH PRIDE PULLED DOWN BY ADMIRAL VERNON," "ADMIRAL VERNON TOOK PORTO BELLO WITH SIX SHIPS ONLY" and "TRUE BRITISH HEROES TOOK CARTHAGENA [sic]." One of the displayed medals depicts a Spanish commander, "Don Blass" (Blas de Lezo), surrendering to Vernon at Cartagena, an event that never happened. Lawrence Washington, George's older brother, served under Vernon and named his estate, Mt. Vernon, in honor of his commander. When the estate passed to George, the name was retained, giving us collectors a reason to pursue the many varieties of these medals.

Not far away in the museum is a display of colonial paper money, including four notes: 1.) 1758 Pennsylvania 20 shillings, bearing Franklin's name as co-printer, 2.) 1762 New Jersey 30 shillings, 3.) 1764 Pennsylvania three pence and 4.) 1774 Maryland one dollar. Some limited context is given in the display.

Given its importance in the Revolution's narrative, I was a bit surprised that no paper Continental Currency was displayed. I'm told that the museum does have some pieces in reserve that may be brought out for future exhibits. There was, however, an exhibit showing a beautiful pewter 1776 Continental "Dollar," on loan from Colonial Williamsburg. Regretfully, I did not record its variety. The reverse design shared by these pieces and the fractional paper Continental Currency authorized on February 17, 1776 – the one with thirteen joined chain links - forms one of the museum's logos. It appears on the back of tee shirts sold in the gift shop. I wear mine proudly.

The coin display that likely represents the most realistic depiction of money in early America consists of four very worn coins – British halfpennies of George I and George II, a George II Irish halfpenny and a George III shilling. The two British halfpennies are identifiable through the glass from their distinctive obverse profiles, though the dates are not given. The Irish halfpenny is unclear as to the monarch it depicts and was presumably identified by weight or by a harp on the reverse. The date of the shilling is not given but, if from the period, must be dated 1763 since George III shillings were only minted in 1763, 1787, 1798 (very rare) and 1816 through 1820.

These were unearthed at the site of "Camp Indulgence," a prison camp near York, Pennsylvania. After General "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne's men, the Convention Army, surrendered at Saratoga, some were held, along with their camp followers (women and children), at Camp Indulgence and neighboring Camp Security. Apparently, security was lax as men were allowed to seek work for pay outside the camps. These coins may well have been part of what they earned.

The four coins are somewhat tenuously linked in the narrative to Baronness Frederika Charlotte Riedesel of Brunswick, the heroic wife of General Freidrich Adolf Riedesel, a veteran of the Seven Years War whose wounds she had treated as a young nurse. When Brunswick signed a treaty to fight with the British in suppressing the American insurrection, her husband was called to join Burgoyne's march on Albany. Frederika accompanied him as a camp follower. She kept a detailed diary, was a first-hand witness to the battles around Saratoga and was not a shy critic of Burgoyne's handling of the campaign. She attended the wounded, buried the dead and cared for her own children, often in the face of fierce American artillery fire, all of which endeared her to the troops. After Burgoyne's surrender, she accompanied the Convention Army and may have

spent time at or near Camp Indulgence. She and the children became the guests of American General Philip Schuyler, later proponent of the U. S. Constitution and father-in-law of Alexander Hamilton. The Riedesels were moved several times while awaiting permission to return to Europe. They are credited by some sources as having popularized the German tradition of the Christmas trees in the Americas, while they lived in Canada.

Other exhibits contain badges, buttons, decorations and other associated items that might be called numismatic. However, the displays described above are the ones that most closely fit the traditional use of the term. As such, we would like to see a more robust treatment of money and its role and believe that future exhibits and special programs may well address that angle. Though I do not know the content of one such program, "The Wampum Chronicles," presented by members of the Mohawk tribe, in October, one might speculate that it touches on wampum as a medium of exchange.

Still, the museum is dedicated to the whole story of the war that made us, not a particular facet of it. Even beyond that, it was a world war, involving the great powers of Europe and continuing beyond the end of hostilities here. And in telling that larger story to generations who have forgotten or may never have heard it, the museum succeeds magnificently. We thoroughly enjoyed our visit and will be back as soon as possible. And then we'll have another bowl of Washington's pepper-pot soup at the City Tavern, built in 1773.

For information about the Museum of the American Revolution, see stheir website, at www.amrevmuseum.com, or call 215.253.6731, or 877.740.1776 (toll-free).

Thanks to:

- Roger Gudith for his expertise on Admiral Vernon medals.
- Matthew Skic, Assistant Curator, for answering my follow-up questions and Ray Williams for providing me with Matthew's contact information.
- All of the young docents who had the misfortune of standing next to exhibits about which I had what must have seemed to them to be odd questions.

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THE COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

Founded in 1960, *The Colonial Newsletter (CNL)* publishes scholarship on early American numismatics. *CNL* focuses on the coinages produced by the states during the Confederation period, and also investigates a variety of other specie.

In September 2015, numismatic literature expert David Fanning listed his top 10 numismatic publications of the 20th century. *The Colonial Newsletter* ranked 1st among journals, and 5th in overall publications.[*]

The December issue of *CNL* will feature Part II of the typed transcript of the original 1787 Connecticut Mint Account Book. This recently discovered handwritten document prepared at Mark Leavenworth's New Haven store will be studied for generations as it provides first-hand insight into the inner-workings of the Connecticut State Mint. The upcoming issue will also feature an in-depth examination of the financing of the Revolutionary War. This exciting article will explain how a large number of Connecticut coppers were placed into circulation through speculation in public securities. The next issue will also feature an article on the Newman Numismatic Portal and show how it can be used for numismatic research. Those who subscribe soon will also receive the last issue of *CNL*, (Issue 164), which contains Part I of the transcript of the 1787 Connecticut Mint Account Book. *CNL*-164 was one of the largest issues of *CNL* ever and there are limited supplies available, so order soon. The 1787 and previously published 1788 mint transcripts are must have documents for anyone interested in learning more about colonial coinage.

CNL is published three times a year by the American Numismatic Society (ANS) in April, August, and December.

Subscribe to *CNL*: http://numismatics.org/store/cnl/. $45 for ANS Members; $60 for non-Members.

Contact the editor, Christopher McDowell, at crmcdowell@strausstroy.com for additional information.

[*] http://conacoinclub.com/category/whats-new-with-cona/

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LOCATING THE "COPPER WORKS AT HAMBDEN" A STEP TOWARD UNDERSTANDING THE OPERATION OF THE NEW HAVEN MINT

(Jay Knipe)

Surprisingly little historical information is available about who minted Connecticut coppers, the sites at which coinage occurred, and the manner in which the coins entered circulation. The efforts of several 19th and 20th century researchers led to a story of Connecticut copper manufacture based on a mixture of fact (legislative documents) and speculation (anecdotal verbal references and extrapolation). In the last decade, new documentation, in the form of actual mint records, inspection certificates and notes from the mint to the treasury, which shed light on mint history has become public. These records have been discussed recently in the *C4 Newsletter* and the *ANS Colonial Newsletter*.

This publication adds to this information base by describing private legal documents (lease agreements) and deeds showing ownership of regional mill sites by several individuals involved in Connecticut copper coinage.

I. History

Sylvester Crosby,[1] by publishing transcriptions of the original legislative documents associated with the formation of the New Haven mint, identified the participants authorized by the Connecticut State Legislature (October 1785) to coin a specific amount of coppers at a specified weight. Adherence to such procedures was to be verified by an appointed inspection committee, and a designated commission percentage to be sent to the State Treasury. The "Company for Coining Coppers" was incorporated soon afterwards for this purpose; this entity went through several reorganizations from 1785 to 1788, during which period it manufactured, had inspected and distributed legally authorized coppers. Crosby also included documents relating to the termination of mint activities (results of an April 1789 Inquest and the Resolve suspending coinage as of June 20, 1789). This material served for many years as the major source of historical information regarding the Connecticut mint for CT copper collectors.

Along with these transcriptions, Crosby provided two references to possible locations of the New Haven mint. In the first, he recounted an anecdote describing a first-hand description of the early mint operations by Henry Meigs, a young boy at the time, to Charles Bushnell in 1854.[2] Meigs' account described coins being made in a small red framed house under the Southern Bluff, west of the Broome and Platt houses, which, according to a Mr. Kingsbury, was in Morris Cove. The second reference, from an unnamed source, indicated that the mint was located in Westville, at the foot of West Rock. While these regional production locations (Westville/West Rock and Morris Cove) were never substantiated they represented the information available on possible mint locations for a number of years.

In the early 1940's Norman Bryant, a CT collector and historian, began researching mint locations and operations, using material from the New Haven Colony Historical Society. An interesting commentary by Bryant dated May 21, 1942 was located at the New Haven Museum.[3]

(See Figure 1.) Here Bryant quoted Crosby's remarks about mint locations and then indicated that he found no information to substantiate either a Morris Cove location ("right hand side of the Harbor going up") or a Westville location. Presumably he researched all possible mint locations using local New Haven sources. His efforts led ultimately to his 1946 publication[4] in which he described the history and ownership of the Greene home on Water Street that was bought by Samuel Broome (1784) and occupied by him during the time of mint operation. In preparing this paper, Bryant was clearly influenced by the comments in Crosby, as well as this passage from Atwater[5] which Bryant quoted:

> *The New Haven Colony Historical Society has a map of the home-lot bought by Captain Daniel Greene in 1795. On that map is marked "Copper Store." The copper store is on the north side of Water street, and adjoins the west end of the dwellinghouse.*

Bryant's research suggests that copper production was associated with the Water Street location, based on the "Copper Store" reference. However, this seemingly residential location does not seem appropriate for many of coinage's major manufacturing processes (rolling, cutting, annealing, planchet cleaning, *etc*.) that require power, chemicals and water. Thus, it is not clear to what extent this site was involved in the making of copper coins, other than stamping.

Toward the end of his paper, Bryant requests:

> *If any collector has additional information regarding the mint or its operations or the men who had anything to do with it, I certainly would appreciate hearing from them.*

This comment suggests that Bryant was unaware of any other locally-available information regarding the functioning or location of the New Haven mint.[6]

II. Recent Findings

Against this backdrop of a paucity of information available regarding the mint, the findings which have been made in the last several years have been of significant value to early coinage researchers. The following materials are especially noteworthy:

1) Portions of two original account books from the New Haven mint providing valuable insights into the mint's manufacturing operations and financial transactions; these original documents are located at the New Haven Museum.[7,8] Recently, publication of transcriptions of these account books,[9,10] and a detailed summary of both[11] have increased their availability to researchers. These materials clearly reference coinage production at the "The Copper Works at Hambden" (i.e. present-day Hamden).[12] These references represent the first recovered notations that provide information on the specific sites of early mint-related activities. Identifying Hamden as the site of coinage operations helped narrow the search for possible mint locations.

2) Documents in the Connecticut Historical Society[13] that include inspection certificates issued to the New Haven mint by the state-appointed coinage inspectors (David Austin, Ebenezer Chittenden and Isaac Beers), and letters from both John Goodrich and Jeremiah Platt to legislative officials detailing payments made to the Connecticut legislature as part of the mint's obligation to pay the state 5% of the copper production, as set forth in the original legislative act establishing the mint.

3) Three leases, newly discovered at the Yale Manuscripts and Archives Collection,[14] covering leasing of two different mills. One document is a lease for a four-month period in 1787 (June-October), and the two others each cover sequential one-year leases of a second mill (from March 1, 1787 to March 1, 1789). Additionally, several deeds covering ownership of mills potentially involved in coinage operations were located. The discussion of how these leases and deeds helped identify the locations of the mills involved in New Haven mint operations are the subjects of this paper.

III. Description of The Mill Leases

The three newly-discovered lease agreements are briefly described below:

1) An indenture whereby the owners and proprietors "of a certain grist mill situated on the Mill River so-called in the town of Hambden being the mill formerly owned by Hezekiah Sabin of New Haven, on the one part, and James Jarvis of said New Haven on the other part…" leased the Mill for a period of four months, starting on 6/12/1787. The agreement was signed by James Hillhouse, Charles Chauncey and James Jarvis.[14] (See Figure 2 for transcription.)

2) An indenture by which James Jarvis (Jeremiah Platt as Attorney) leased "…a certain gristmill situated on the Mill River in the Town of Hambden between the mills formerly owned by Hezekiah Sabin & the mill formerly owned by Richard Woodhill & others, being the middle mill, so called and situated near Bassett's Bridge…" from P. Edwards, C. Chauncey and J. Hillhouse for a term of one year starting on 3/1/1787.[14] (See Figure 3 for transcription.)

3) An indenture between the same parties and having the same wording as that above but for a term of one year starting on 3/1/1788.[14] (See Figure 4 for transcription.)

The earliest of the three documents is the lease of the so-called "Sabin's Mill" by Charles Chauncey and James Hillhouse to James Jarvis for a four-month period starting on 6/12/1787 for the purpose of manufacturing copper. (See Figure 2 for a transcription.) The additional two documents describe sequential one-year leases of a second, unnamed (but referred as "middle"), mill by Charles Chauncey, Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse to James Jarvis (with Jerimiah Platt as attorney) beginning March 1, 1787. (See Figures 3 and 4 for transcriptions.)

By virtue of the parties involved, the mention of the Town of "Hambden," and the naming of specific mills on the Mill River, these documents are rich in information bearing on the location of the mills and their presumed function during the lease period. James Hillhouse and Pierpont Edwards were principals in the formation of the Company for Coining Coppers, while James Jarvis was majority shareholder of the mint by June 1787 and closely associated with Samuel Broome and Jeremiah Platt.[15] Because of his standing in the legal community, Charles Chauncey is believed to have been an associate of James Hillhouse.[16]

The mention in the lease of Sabin's Mill that it, and the mill dam, was leased for "manufacturing copper" strongly suggest that the mill's water power was needed for at least some portion of copper coinage production. The leases for both Sabin's Mill and the "middle" mill also give the lessee permission "to erect a building for a furnace", a suggestion that copper refining and/or annealing were likely to be performed.[17]

A clue to the to the exact mill locations comes from the earliest records of New Haven Colony which indicate that a grist mill was established on the Mill River, which flows through

Hamden, as early as 1640 for communal use in grinding flour.[18] The Mill River crossed a trap rock ledge at a gorge in what is now southern Hamden, near the present New Haven city line, situated between Mill Rock (elev. 225 ft.) and Whitney Peak (elev. 300 ft.). This natural "dam" provided a location from which to harness the power of falling water to drive a mill wheel.[19]

IV. Deeds Related to Sabin's Mill and Its Location

This first mill operated by the Town of New Haven from 1660-1665, burned in 1662 and was rebuilt in 1665 after being granted by the Town to William Bradley and Christopher Todd. Bradley sold his interest to Todd in 1671 and the mill remained in the Todd family until 1732, when it was sold to Caleb and Hannah Tuttle. The mill passed through two other owners before being purchased by Hezekiah Sabin[20] who owned it when Hamden separated from New Haven in May 1786.[18] From then the mill was known as "Sabin's Mill". Sabin sold his mill in 1787 to Charles Chauncey, Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse, who later sold it to Eli Whitney (1798). These latter two transactions are the subjects of the following two deeds (See Figures 5 and 6 for transcriptions):

1) A deed dated 1/5/1787 by which Hezekiah Sabin, for the consideration of 720 Pounds conveys to Charles Chauncey, Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse, "my Grist Mill formerly called Todd's Mill situated in the Town of Hamden in the County of New Haven on the Mill River so called together with the Dam and Stream where the Mill stands…"[21] (See Figure 5 for transcription.)

2) A deed dated 9/17/1798 by which Charles Chauncey, Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse, for the consideration of 720 Pounds conveys to Eli Whitney, "our Grist Mill formerly called Todd's Mill situated in the Town of Hamden said County standing on the Mill River so called together with the Dam and Stream where the Mill stands…". Whitney then established his Lower Armory on this site.[22] (See Figure 6 for transcription.)

The transfer of ownership of this mill from Sabin to Edwards, *et al* occurred in January 1787 and the new owners leased the mill to Jarvis on June 12, 1787. No other documentation has been found regarding the use of the mill from January to June 1787, but it is possible that coinage operations were carried out very soon after the transfer of ownership.

The sale of Sabin's Mill to Eli Whitney was the first of a series of Whitney's land and building purchases along the Mill River beginning in 1798. Whitney established his armory on the Sabin's Mill site, with construction beginning soon after its purchase.[23] The use of Sabin's mill in connection with copper coinage production adds to the historic significance of this site; initially the location of the first grist mill in New Haven Colony, then its role in coinage production, and finally as the site of Whitney's Armory. Today this site is located within the grounds of the Eli Whitney Museum in New Haven.[24]

V. Possible Location of The Middle Mill

To precisely locate the other mill leased to Jarvis, rather than roughly place it "on the Mill River," the very important clue as to its location contained in both leases must be examined in detail:

> *This indenture made and conducted by and between the owners and proprietors of a certain grist mill situated on the Mill River in the town of Hambden, between the mill formerly owned by Hezekiah Sabin and the mill formerly owned by Richard Woodhill & others, being the middle mill so called & situated near Bassett's Bridge…"*

The above description placed this mill between Sabin's mill and a third mill formerly owned by Woodhill and others, and indicates that it was "situated near Basset's bridge." According to New Haven Colony town meeting records, the name "Bassett's Bridge" was the very early name of the current Davis Street Bridge, which crosses the Mill River in Hamden about ¼ mile above the dam (original site of Sabin's Mill).[25] The same records indicate that this bridge was near the site of "Ford's Mill."[25] To establish the location of the "middle mill" and to establish if it was also "Ford's Mill," it was necessary to search the records of land purchases by Eli Whitney.

VI. Eli Whitney's Holdings along the Lower Mill River

Since Whitney's land holdings after 1798 were extensive and represented a good portion of the land along the lower Mill River, the Whitney Archival collection at the New Haven Museum was searched for records bearing on purchases and locations of mill sites along the Mill River. The New Haven Museum sponsored archeological excavations at the current site of the Eli Whitney Museum in 1974 and 1975; the records and results are now part of the New Haven Water company archives maintained at the Museum. Included in these records is an engineering summary and historical record[26] which provides the context in which to place Eli Whitney's early land/mill purchases and building activities. For the purposes of tracing the location of the second mill leased to Jarvis the following relevant items emerged from this document:

1) Referring to Sabin's Mill: "Christopher Todd's mill (c. 1630) was the earliest and lowest of the mill seats on Mill River. A six-foot log dam across the river at this point formed a small pond, later known as Sabin's Pond, which supplied water power for the grindstones. The traprock dyke effectively prevented the rise of tidewater beyond the mill seat." Also, "The earliest deed for the property among the New Haven Water Company papers is dated 8 January 1787. On that date T.H. Sabin sold the "mill, dam, lands between mill & highway, and right to raise dam" etc. to Charles Channey (*sic)*, Pierpont Edwards, and James Hillhouse. Eleven years later… Channey (*sic*), Edwards and Hillhouse sold the mill to Whitney for the same price they paid for it."[26 (pp.5-6)]

2) "Two additional mill seats on the Mill River were established in this part of Hamden: another grist mill near the site of the present Davis Street Bridge and a paper mill about three hundred yards north of the present Whitneyville Congregational Church."[(26, p.6)]

3) "At what is now the Davis Street Bridge, there was a grist mill, marking the second seat above tide water. It was not purchased until 1830, when it was acquired, along with other pieces of land, by Goodrich and Edwards, trustees of the Whitney estate.…, this mill site eventually became Whitney's Marine Clock Factory."[(26, p.10)]

4) "…Whitney very early (1809) bought the third mill seat above tide water, a paper mill, where his son later established the Upper Armory for the manufacture of pistols…"[(26, p.10)]

These descriptions establish the locations and relative positions along the lower Mill River of the three mill seats that represent potential sites of coinage operations. The lowest (and first) mill seat on Mill River was Todd's, later Sabin's Mill, owned by Edwards, *et al.*, and, ultimately, the location of the Lower Armory. The second seat was a grist mill near the present Davis Street bridge, bought in 1830 by Whitney's estate and ultimately the site of the Marine Clock Factory established by Whitney's son. The third seat, a paper mill purchased in 1809, became the Upper Armory and was located north of the present Whitneyville Congregational Church. Thus Whitney, or his estate, ultimately owned the three mill seats and established on those locations three major elements of his "industrial complex" along the lower Mill River; the Lower Armory, Marine Clock Factory and the Upper Armory.

From this information, it appears that the grist located on the second mill seat and near the current Davis Street Bridge (earlier Bassett's Bridge), which ultimately became the Marine Clock Factory, was the "middle mill" leased by Jarvis from 1787-1789. However, to show this conclusively, it was necessary to determine if the mill situated above "the middle mill" was once owned by "Richard Woodhill & others," as indicated in the lease agreements.

VII. Ownership of The Third (Upper) Mill

The third mill seat, which Whitney bought in 1809 is the subject of the following deeds (See Figures 7 and 8 for transcriptions):

1) A deed dated 7/15/1809 whereby for $1200, Stephen Ford, Eleazer Hotchkiss and Silas Hotchkiss sold to Eli Whitney "…a certain mill seat situate upon Mill River near the Cheshire Turnpike in said Hamden. Being the third mill seat above Tidewater on said River & the same which was first owned, occupied & improved as a mill seat by Richard Woodhull, Josiah Talmadge & Daniel Talmadge & Solomon Gilbert-together with all our right, title & interest in & to the Paper-Mill, Dam, Pond & buildings & machinery thereon…"[27] (See Figure 7 for transcription.)

2) A second deed, also dated 7/15/1809, to complete the transfer, the same individuals, for $500 sold to Whitney "…all the right and title we have by virtue of a mortgage deed from Amos Bradley Junr to Silas Hotchkiss & Eliazer Hotchkiss & also a mortgage deed from Samuel Cooper to sd Stephen, Silas & Eliazer, both of which will appear on Hamden records & we assign to sd Whitney all our title & claim by virtue of mortgages."[27] (See Figure 7 for transcription.)

These two deeds establish that the third mill seat was first owned and occupied by Richard Woodhull, Josiah Talmadge, Daniel Talmadge and Solomon Gilbert. This location became the site of the Upper Armory established by Eli Whitney, Jr.

Knowing that the lowest mill seat was Sabin's Mill and the highest (of the three in the lower Mill River) was first owned and occupied by Woodhull, *et al*, aid in the interpretation of the middle mill seat, referred to, using this same terminology of relative seat positions, as the Mill leased by Jarvis from Edwards, Chauncey and Hillhouse.

VIII. Was the "Middle Mill" Ford's Mill?

Early New Haven town records[24] referred to Bassett's Bridge (current Davis Street Bridge) as being near "Ford's Mill". This mill was specified as a grist mill between the gun manufactory (Lower Armory) and a paper mill (site of Upper Armory) and was the subject of the following deeds. Each of these deeds reference an earlier (3/1/1783) deed naming Stephen Ford as an owner of the mill. (See Figures 9 and 10 for transcriptions):

1) A deed dated 3/18/1785 by which Silas Hotchkiss, for the consideration of 65 Pounds transferred one-quarter of the rights to a mill owned by Stephen Ford (living), Eleazer Hotchkiss and Silas Hotchkiss to Pierpont Edwards. The owners (Ford, S. Hotchkiss and E. Hotchkiss) to retain "three quarters of said Rights assigned by sd Stephen Ford to Eleazer and Silas Hotchkiss by Deed of quitclaim dated the 1st of March 1783…".[28] (See Figure 9 for transcription.)

2) A deed dated 4/30/1813 by which Silas Hotchkiss, for the consideration of $810 transferred to Jesse Gilbert, "…a certain Grist Mill situate on Mill River between the gun manufactory & the Paper Mill in sd Hamden with the Mill Dam…". Also, "…a certain lot of land on which said mill stands limited and bounded as set forth in a certain deed from Stephen Ford to me the sd Silas & to Elizur Hotchkiss dated 1st March 1783…".[27] (See Figure 10 for transcription.)

The association of Stephen Ford, as early as 1783 (reference to the March 1, 1783 deed) with this mill, may have led to its description as "Ford's Mill".[29] These data suggest that the "middle mill" was Ford's Mill. The March 18, 1785 deed shows at least a partial ownership of the mill by Pierpont Edwards (with an interest retained by Ford). This deed represents the earliest document found describing ownership of any mill by Edwards and/or his associates. Thus, a contemporary record links the ownership of a mill to a Company for Coining Coppers principal well before the October 1785 State sanctioning of the mint.

IX. Analysis

An 1856 map,[30] Figure 11, shows the positions of the three mill seats (using the terminology referring to Whitney-related locations), while Figure 12 is a current map for comparison, showing the same locations using the mill names. As indicated above, the site of Sabin's mill (Lower Armory) is located on the grounds of the Eli Whitney Museum, while those of the other two mills were submerged after the building of the 1861 "high" dam and creation of the present Lake Whitney.[19]

Interestingly, the following three entries from the 1788 account book[8] refer to both Ford's and Sabin's Mills by name:

1) October 18, 1788 (page 86) lists a payment (57 pounds 10 shillings) to: "Pierpont Edwards & Co…Owners of Ford's Mill for 1 Years rent from 1 March 1788 to 1 March 1789…as per lease".

2) December 3, 1788 (page 87) lists a payment (7 pounds 3 shillings 9 pence) to: "Pierpont Edwards & Co…Owners of Ford's Mill paid Pierpont Edwards on account of the lease of said Mill this year per his receipt".

3) December 27, 1788 (page 88) lists a credit to the Copper Works account "…for proportion of expenses for the Federal Works, including the proportion of expenses both works were subject to…Also the expenses of the Federal Works which the Copper Works were not subject to, Viz for 2 new stamping presses, Smiths work in fitting them, the rent of Sabin's Mill, etc.…. As the whole expenses of both works are charged to Copper Works account—the above was adjusted this day and said proportion agreed to…"

The October 18, 1788 payment included the annual lease fee of 37 pounds 10 shillings, plus what appears to be a penalty payment of 20 pounds for flooding the mill pond above the height mandated in the lease; this infraction apparently occurred on February 26, 1788, as evidenced by the note by Platt on the back of the lease signed on October 17, 1787 (Figure 4.) Both of these payments were clearly made ahead of the schedule proscribed in the lease, such that the rent for the mill was paid through March 1, 1789. This prepayment makes the purpose of the subsequent December 3, 1788 payment (7 pounds 3 shillings 9 pence, on account) unclear.

The December 27, 1788 entry represented a credit to the Copper Works account for a portion of previous charges made against that account (these charges were the total expenses incurred by both the Copper Works and the Federal Works together during an unspecified time period). Of note are the expenses of the Federal Works that the Copper Works were not subject to, specifically: two new stamping presses, Smith's work in fitting them and the rent of Sabin's Mill. This statement implies that Sabin's Mill was associated with, and its expenses were charged to, the "Federal Works" account. Interestingly the agreement leasing Sabin's mill to James Jarvis was effective 6/11/1787 and coincided with the timing of Jarvis' acquisition of controlling interest (56.25%) of the coinage operation, and with the change of name to the Copper Mint Company. Perhaps, then, Sabin's Mill became the main site for initial operations of this new entity.

The two new stamping presses mentioned in this entry (December 27, 1788) may refer to the two presses bought from Peter Curtenius and referred to in the earlier September 1, 1788 (page 80) entry (a photograph is given in Figure 13). This transaction calls the presses "Federal" and the transaction is charged to the Federal Works account. The process by which the presses were acquired has recently been thoroughly discussed by Gary Trudgen.[31] It is unfortunate that the apparent date of installation of the presses (April 29, 1788) lies outside the 4-month period (June-October 1787) covered by the only known lease to Sabin's Mill. Since Chauncey *et al* owned Sabin's Mill presumably they extended their lease arrangement with Jarvis. Hopefully more documentation that sheds light on these significant events will emerge.

Assigning locations to these leased mills is only a small portion of the research which is likely to come from further examination of these account books. For example, both account books contain numerous references to coinage operations, including lists of wages paid to individuals for performing specific tasks (annealing, stamping, rolling, maintenance of machines, etc.) associated with coinage production. An example of one such entry is given in Figure 14, a photograph of the March 29, 1788 entry which details wages paid to several individuals for work performed at the "Copper Works at Hambden," including work at the stamping press. Note that in this entry, as in others that record wages, the workers are divided in two groups; there is a larger group (usually

10-15 individuals) who presumably work at rolling, plating, cutting, *etc*., and a smaller group (generally four, one of whom is an assistant) who are named as working at the Stamping Press.

Trudgen specifically indicates that the presses bought from Curtenius' foundry were medium size, operated by three men.[31, p.4539] Presumably there would be sufficient tasks for another worker to be of assistance to the main press operators. The grouping of these two sets of workers together under the wages-paid category in the account book entries may imply that the more labor-intensive processes associated with planchet production and less labor-intensive press operation were carried out on the same site, but an answer to this question must await further research.

Another question which may be answered as more information is obtained regards the copper sources for coin production. Several entries in both account books refer to payments made for copper, but the nature of the metal supplied is not defined. There were sources of native copper in the area, including the Tallman Mine in Hamden, but no contemporary records of mining operations or quantities produced have been located.[17]

The above discussion has summarized newly-available evidence bearing on the identity and location of two mills which were leased by the New Haven mint to perform at least some of the tasks associated with coin production. Further efforts to determine additional locations at which coinage-related operations were performed will, no doubt, be forthcoming. Valuable will be a reconciliation of notations made in the 1787 and 1788 Account books with research covered in previous publications which have implicated coinage press operations at other New Haven locations (*i.e.,* Buell's store in Gregson Alley and on Samuel Broome's property.)[32]

As has been mentioned in the publications dealing with the account books they are both only fragments of what once were no doubt larger volumes. The period covered by these volumes (February 1787 to December 1788) is only about one-half the life-span of the mint. Conspicuously absent are important records covering the mint's early formative period beginning in October 1785. No doubt the search for records pertaining to this time period will continue and hopefully fuel further investigations of early mint activities.

Acknowledgements: The author gratefully acknowledges previous efforts by Peter Griffin to discover and transcribe several hitherto undisclosed documents, and Peter's valuable comments and assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. Likewise, the guidance and assistance of Randy Clark in the preparation and review of this manuscript was greatly appreciated. Additionally, the valuable assistance of Ed Surato, Librarian, of the New Haven Museum and Beth Shutts, Archivist, of the Hamden Historical Society is gratefully appreciated.

References and Notes:

[1] Crosby, Sylvester S., *Early Coins of America*, (Reprint), Lawrence, MA, Quarterman Publications, 1983, pages 207-210 (legislative records) and 219-224 (later documents).

[2] *Ibid*, page 210.

[3] Arnold Dana Collection, *New Haven, Old and New; Scrapbook Collection*, Water St., page 39. New Haven Museum (newhavenmuseum.org), 114 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, CT 06510. Formerly known as The New Haven Colony Historical Society.

[4] Bryant, Norman, "The New Haven Mint," *Numismatic Review*, Vol. 3, No.2 (April 1946):41-47. Reprinted in *CNL* 16 (November 1977): 614-621

[5] Atwater, Edward E., *History of the City of New Haven to the Present Time*, New York, W.W. Munsell and Co., 1887, page 533.

[6] It is possible that Bryant knew of the 1787 and 1788 mint account books and did not reveal that information (and made no use of their contents in his research.) However, since the Museum has no records available regarding the origin of the books or when they were received, it is equally possible that they were only available after Bryant finished his research.

[7] The 1787 (Leavenworth) Account Book is listed as "Company for Coining Copper. Ledger, 1787-1791". Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS 83, *Accounting Book, Journal and Ledger Miscellany*, 1725-1912, Oversized Item No. 8. New Haven Museum (newhavenmuseum.org), 114 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, CT 06510.

[8] The 1788 Account Book is listed as "Company for Coining Copper. Ledger. 1788". Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS 83, *Accounting Book, Journal and Ledger Miscellany*, 1725-1912, Oversized Item No. 9. New Haven Museum (newhavenmuseum.org), 114 Whitney Avenue, New Haven, CT 06510.

[9] Clark, Randy and McDowell, Christopher R., "Transcript of the 1788 Connecticut and Federal Mint Account Book", *CNL* 163 (April 2017): 4541-4569.

[10] Clark, Randy and McDowell, Christopher R., "Transcript of the Leavenworth Account Book for 1787 (Part 1: February 12, 1787 to May 2, 1787)", *CNL* 164 (August 2017): 4624-4650.

[11] Clark, Randy, "Summary of Findings from Two Connecticut Mint Account Books", *C4N* 25 (Spring 2017): 12-30.

[12] The reference to "Hambden" is likely a slight misspelling of the early name of the Town after it split from the Town of New Haven in May 1786. Hamden was named for John Hampden (1594-1643,) a Puritan patriot and follower of Cromwell who was killed in battle during the overthrow of Charles I. He was one of twelve to whom the "Old Saybrooke Grant" (1635) was made, but he never came to America. His name was suggested for the Town by Amasa Bradley, whose ancestor William Bradley served with Hampden in Cromwell's army. The "p" was dropped when the Town was incorporated. [Hartley, Rachel M., *The History of Hamden Connecticut*, Hamden, CT, Shoe String Press, 1959.)]

[13] Rosen, Jim and Clark, Randy, "Connecticut Manuscripts Concerning the Company for Coining Coppers," *C4N* 25 (Spring 2017): 31-43.

[14] Yale University Library, *Manuscripts and Archives*, MS 1357, Pierpont Edwards Papers, Series II, Box 3, Folder 47, Indentures.

[15] McDowell, Christopher R., *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*, Ann Arbor, MI, C-4, Sheridan Books, 2015. Biographical information on pages 88 (Hillhouse) and 95 (Edwards), while Jarvis is discussed in detail (Chapter 27).

[16] Charles Chauncey was born in Durham, CT on May 30, 1747, studied Law with James Abraham Hillhouse, was admitted to the Bar in 1768, named Attorney for the State of CT in 1776, and admitted to the Bench of the Supreme Court in 1789. [Fowler, William Chauncey, *Memorials of the Chaunceys*, Boston, Henry W. Dutton & Son, 1858.]

[17] The source of copper for the mint is yet to be established. No contemporary records of local copper production in the quantities needed for coinage have been located. See Harte, Charles R., "Connecticut's Iron and Copper, Part 1", *60th Annual Report of the Connecticut Society of Civil Engineers, 1944*. Accessed from Yale Peabody Museum Website, Minerology and Metoritics (Peabody.Yale.edu). See also Dickerman, J.H., "History of Mining in Hamden," in Blake, W.P., *History of the Town of Hamden, Connecticut*, New Haven, CT, Price, Lee and Co., 1888.

[18] Harris, B.M., "Some Early Mills of Hamden," *Publications of the Hamden Historical Society*, Volume 1, 41-51, New Haven, CT, Quinnipiack Press, 1938.

[19] The Mill River flows from its start in the town of Cheshire through Hamden and New Haven, and discharges into New Haven Harbor on Long Island Sound, with a watershed area of about 37 mi^2 (*CT Rivers Community*, ctrivers.wikispaces.com). The New Haven Water Company built a higher (30-35 feet) dam on the site of the trap rock foundation in 1860-1861. This effectively flooded a large area a large area above the dam, creating the present Lake Whitney and eliminating all evidence of the location of mills upstream from the original mill at the trap rock dam (Blake, W.P., in work cited.)

[20] Hezekiah Sabin (b. New Haven, 1750; d. Providence, 1822) was a Revolutionary War hero who was a Captain in the New Haven volunteers and rose to the rank of Colonel. He remained associated with the mint after selling his mill to Edwards, *et al*., as he is mentioned several times in the mint account books (as being paid for work at the copper works and for selling wood and 326 pounds of copper to the mint.)

[21] New Haven Museum: Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS B-19, *New Haven Water Company Papers*, 1787-1965, Box II, Folder A, Deeds.

[22] New Haven Museum: Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS 146, *The Whitney Family Collection*, 1791-1913, Box I, Folder C, Business Papers.

[23] Whitney built as rapidly as he could on the site, given labor, supply and weather issues; By January 13, 1799 a two-story 72 *x* 30-foot factory was raised, with the necessary waterworks for power completed by Summer of that year. See Chapter XIV in Mirsky, Jeannette and Nevins, Allan, *The World of Eli Whitney*, Macmillian Press, 1952.

[24] Eli Whitney Museum and Workshop (eliwhitney.org), 915 Whitney Avenue, Hamden, CT 06517.

[25] Records of the New Haven Town Meetings show the following: at the December 1746 meeting (page 362,) it was voted that the Town give 5 pounds toward maintaining the Mill Bridge (or Bassett's Bridge, so–called), and in December 1750 (page 381) voted that the Mill Bridge (Bassett's Bridge, so-called) near Ford's Mill shall be a Town Bridge. *New Haven Records, 1684-1769*; Volume II, New Haven Museum.

[26] *Historic American Engineering Record*, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service. New Haven Museum: Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS 13, *Whitney Armory Survey Records*, 1971-1975, Box I, HAER Report with Photographs.

[27] New Haven Museum: Document Location: Manuscript Register MSS B-19, *New Haven Water Company Papers*, 1787-1965, Box II, Folder A, Deeds.

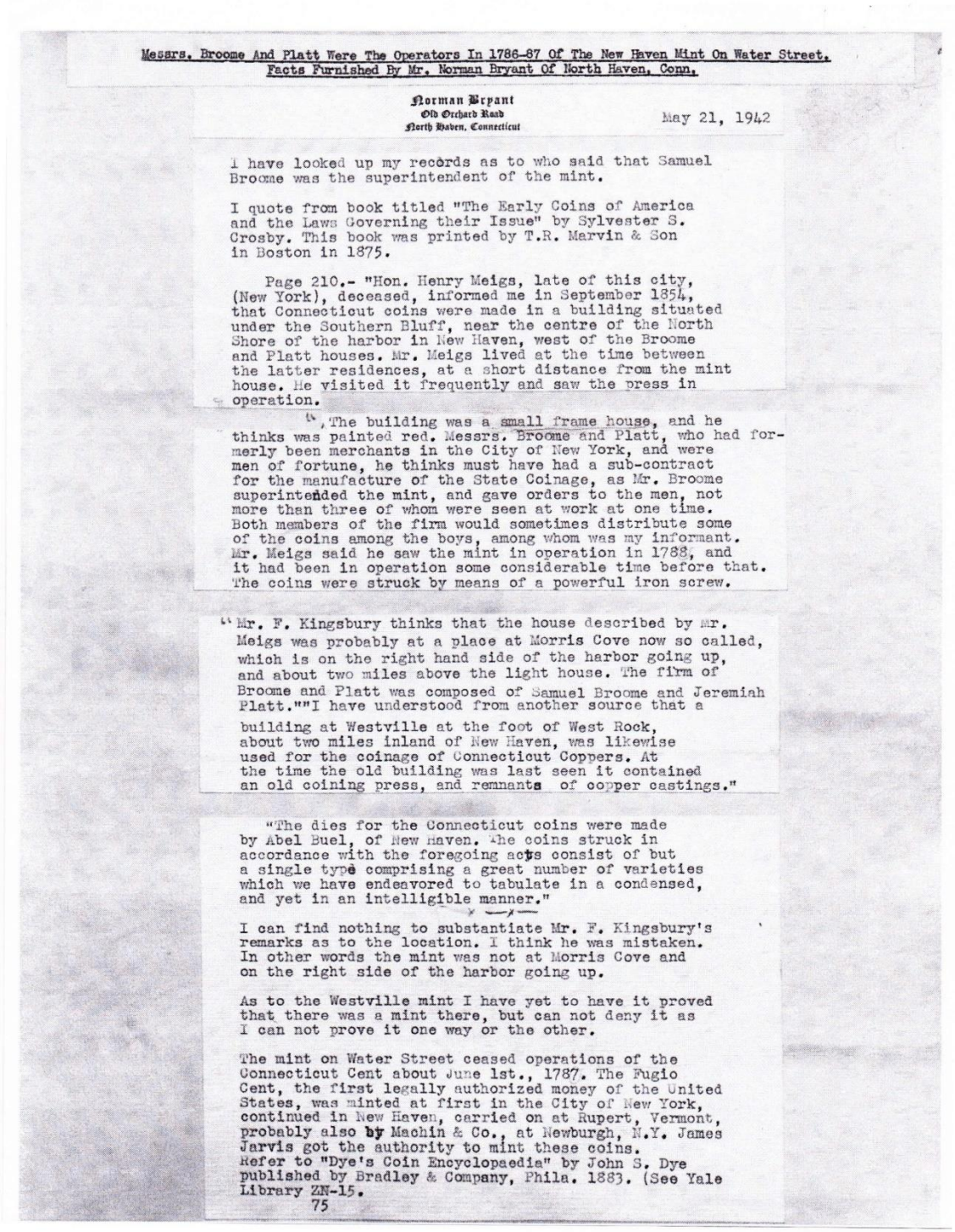
[28] Yale University Library, *Manuscripts and Archives*, MS 1357, Pierpont Edwards Papers, Series II, Box 3, Folder 38, Deeds.

[29] Stephen Ford (b. 1749, New Haven; d. Hamden, 1843) served in the Revolutionary War (rank of Captain) and, like Sabin, is mentioned several times in the mint accounts books as being paid for services (carting wood, *etc*.) and wages (for his "boy.") He may be the same "Mr. Ford" mentioned as a courier, bringing 3 kegs of coppers to the State Treasury on November 5, 1787. See Reference 13.

[30] Site Plan of Lake Whitney; detail of original engineering drawing, 1856. Photocopied from map drawn and surveyed by Welton, Nelson J., "Completed Waterworks at Whitneyville, 1856," *New Haven Water Company Papers*, 1787-1965.

[31] Trudgen, Gary A., "The New-York Air Furnace", *CNL* 163 (April 2017): 4537-4540.

[32] For a summary, see Chapters 4, 21 and 27 in McDowell, Christopher R., *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*, cited above, and references therein.



Messrs. Broome And Platt Were The Operators In 1786-87 Of The New Haven Mint On Water Street.
Facts Furnished By Mr. Norman Bryant Of North Haven, Conn.

Norman Bryant
Old Orchard Road
North Haven, Connecticut

May 21, 1942

I have looked up my records as to who said that Samuel Broome was the superintendent of the mint.

I quote from book titled "The Early Coins of America and the Laws Governing their Issue" by Sylvester S. Crosby. This book was printed by T.R. Marvin & Son in Boston in 1875.

Page 210.- "Hon. Henry Meigs, late of this city, (New York), deceased, informed me in September 1854, that Connecticut coins were made in a building situated under the Southern Bluff, near the centre of the North Shore of the harbor in New Haven, west of the Broome and Platt houses. Mr. Meigs lived at the time between the latter residences, at a short distance from the mint house. He visited it frequently and saw the press in operation.

"The building was a small frame house, and he thinks was painted red. Messrs. Broome and Platt, who had formerly been merchants in the City of New York, and were men of fortune, he thinks must have had a sub-contract for the manufacture of the State Coinage, as Mr. Broome superintended the mint, and gave orders to the men, not more than three of whom were seen at work at one time. Both members of the firm would sometimes distribute some of the coins among the boys, among whom was my informant. Mr. Meigs said he saw the mint in operation in 1788, and it had been in operation some considerable time before that. The coins were struck by means of a powerful iron screw.

"Mr. F. Kingsbury thinks that the house described by Mr. Meigs was probably at a place at Morris Cove now so called, which is on the right hand side of the harbor going up, and about two miles above the light house. The firm of Broome and Platt was composed of Samuel Broome and Jeremiah Platt.""I have understood from another source that a building at Westville at the foot of West Rock, about two miles inland of New Haven, was likewise used for the coinage of Connecticut Coppers. At the time the old building was last seen it contained an old coining press, and remnants of copper castings."

"The dies for the Connecticut coins were made by Abel Buel, of New Haven. The coins struck in accordance with the foregoing acts consist of but a single type comprising a great number of varieties which we have endeavored to tabulate in a condensed, and yet in an intelligible manner."

I can find nothing to substantiate Mr. F. Kingsbury's remarks as to the location. I think he was mistaken. In other words the mint was not at Morris Cove and on the right side of the harbor going up.

As to the Westville mint I have yet to have it proved that there was a mint there, but can not deny it as I can not prove it one way or the other.

The mint on Water Street ceased operations of the Connecticut Cent about June 1st., 1787. The Fugio Cent, the first legally authorized money of the United States, was minted at first in the City of New York, continued in New Haven, carried on at Rupert, Vermont, probably also by Machin & Co., at Newburgh, N.Y. James Jarvis got the authority to mint these coins. Refer to "Dye's Coin Encyclopaedia" by John S. Dye published by Bradley & Company, Phila. 1883. (See Yale Library ZN-15.

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Figure 1. Commentary by Norman Bryant from the archives of the New Haven Museum.

Memorandum

This indenture made & concluded by & between the owners & proprietors of a certain gristmill situated on the Mill River so called in the town of Hambden being the mill formerly owned by Hezekiah Sabin of New Haven, on the one part, and James Jarvis of said New Haven on the other part, witnesseth that we have by these presents do let & lease unto the said James Jarvis the said Mill for the term of four months from the twelfth day of June for the purpose of manufacturing coppers, at which time said Jarvis is to enter into & take possession thereof, and said Jarvis is to hold, occupy & improve said mill, with the right & privilege of flowing the lands belonging to said mill & the use of the mill dam & all other privileges & immunities thereunto belonging, which shall be necessary to carry on said business of manufacturing copper for said term of four months.

In consideration whereof the said Jarvis doth for himself and his heirs etc covenant with the said owners & proprietors of said mill to pay unto Josiah & Daniel Talmadge, Junior, of said Hamden, nine pounds lawful money being the sum for which they have contracted to build a new water wheel & shaft & other apparatus necessary for the same to said mill, & on or before the 1st day of August next to pay & deliver unto said proprietors twenty one pounds lawful money in copper. And at the expiration of said term to deliver up to said owners & proprietors, said mill, said mill dam & other apparatus in as good repair and the same order he receives the same, excepting only ordinary & necessary wear & tear. And it is agreed that the proprietors pay the taxes on said mill. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands & to another instrument of the same tenor & date in New Haven, this 11th day of June 1787

The lessee hath permission to erect a building for a furnace or another other building on the privileges, hereby leased, & to remove the same at the expiration of the term, provided however that no injury be done thereby to the present dam or mill.

Witnesses Present
Abraham DeWitt

James Jarvis
James Hillhouse
Charles Chauncey

Figure 2. The lease of Sabin's Mill by James Jarvis from James Hillhouse and Charles Chauncey, signed June 11, 1787. Transcribed from the original by Peter Griffin.

Memorandum

This indenture made & concluded by & between the owners & proprietors of a certain gristmill situated on the Mill River in the town of Hambden between the mills formerly owned by Hezekiah Sabin, & the mill formerly owned by Richard Woodhill & others, being the middle mill, so called, & situated near Bassett's Bridge on the one part, & Jeremiah Platt as attorney to & in behalf of James Jarvis of New Haven on the other part .... Witnesseth that we have by these presents do let & lease unto the said James Jarvis the said Mill for the term of one year from the first day of March next at which time the said Jarvis is to enter into & take possession of said mill, and said Jarvis is to hold, occupy & improve said mill, & the use of the mill dam & other privileges & immunities thereunto belonging, for said term, excepting the mill stones, screen & bolting of cloth, & always provided the said Jarvis does not raise the water higher than the plate of said dam.

In consideration whereof the said Platt in behalf of said Jarvis doth covenant to pay unto said owners & proprietors of said mill the sum of thirty seven pounds ten shillings lawful money, the on half thereof to be paid in coppers, at the end of two months, & the other half in coppers at the end of six months. And at the expiration of said term to deliver said mill, said mill dam & other apparatus in as good repair as he receives the same, excepting only ordinary & necessary wear & tear. And it is agreed that said proprietors pay the taxes arising on said mill. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands & to another instrument of the same tenor & date in New Haven, this 20th day of February 1787

The lessee hath permission to erect a building for a furnace or another other building on the privileges, hereby leased, & to remove the same at the expiration of the term, provided however that no injury be done thereby to the present dam or mill.

Sam Broome

Gideon Buckingham

Pierpont Edwards
Charles Chauncey
James Hillhouse
Jeremiah Platt for James Jarvis

Figure 3. The lease of "a certain grist mill" by James Jarvis from Pierpont Edwards, James Hillhouse and Charles Chauncey, signed February 20, 1787. Transcribed from the original by Peter Griffin.

Memorandom

This indenture made and conducted by and between the owners and proprietors of a certain grist mill situated on the Mill River in the town of Hambden, between the mill formerly owned by Hezekiah Sabin and the mill formerly owned by Richard Woodhill & others, being the middle mill so called & situated near Bassett's Bridge on the one part & Jeremiah Platt as attorney to & in behalf of James Jarvis of New Haven on the other part. Witnesseth that we have & do by these presents let & lease unto said James Jarvis the said mill for the term of one year, from the first day of March next at which time the said Jarvis is to enter into & take possession of said mill, and said Jarvis is to hold, occupy & improve the said mill with the right & privilege of flowing the lands belonging to said mill & the use of the mill dam & all other privileges & immunities thereunto belonging for the said term excepting the mill stones, screen and bolting cloth. Provided nevertheless that said dam is never to be raised higher than the tops of the rafters of the present dam.

In consideration whereof the said Platt in behalf of said Jarvis doth covenant to pay unto said owners & proprietors of said mill the sum of thirty seven pounds ten shillings lawful money, the one half thereof to be paid in coppers at their current value on or before the 1st day of September 1788 and the other half in coppers at their current value on or before the 1st day of March 1789 & at the expiration of said term to deliver up said mill, said mill dam & other apparatus in as good repair as he receives the same, excepting only ordinary & necessary wear & tear. And it is agreed the said proprietors pay the taxes arising on said mill. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands & to another instrument of the same tenor & date in New Haven this 17th day of October 1787.

The lessee hath permission to erect a furnace or any other building on the privileges hereby leased & to remove the same at the expiration of the term, provided however that no injury be done thereby to the present dam or mill.

Jonathan Ingersoll
?? Tracy
Executed by J. Platt in my presence Sam Broome

Charles Chauncey
Pierpont Edwards
James Hillhouse
Jeremiah Platt for James Jarvis

Notation on back of lease:

New Haven February 26th 1788 I hereby agree with said Charles Chauncey, James Hillhouse, Stephen Ford and Pierpont Edwards to pay them twenty pounds lawful money in consideration of flowing said mill pond to the height mandated in the lease, viz one half paid in copper at their current value on the first day of April 1788 and the other half on the first day of March 1789 also in coppers at their current value.
Jeremiah Platt for James Jarvis

Figure 4. The lease of "a certain grist mill" by James Jarvis from Pierpont Edwards, James Hillhouse and Charles Chauncey, signed October 17, 1787. Transcribed from the original by Peter Griffin.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come, GREETING

Know ye, That I Hezekiah Sabin of New Haven in the County of New Haven and State of Connecticut For the Consideration of Seven Hundred and Twenty Pounds Lawful Money……Received to my full Satisfaction of Charles Chauncey, Pierpont Edwards & James Hillhouse all of said New Haven ~ Do Give, Grant, Bargain, Sell and Confirm unto the said Charles Chauncey, Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse for their Heirs and assigns forever my Grist Mill formerly called Todd's Mill situated in the Town of Hamden in the County of New Haven on the Mill River so called together with the Dam and Stream where the Mill stands and also the Land between the Mill and the Highways that lie West and South and also the Privilege of raising sd Dam and flowing the Land around by said Pond so high and so far as was given and granted by the Town or Proprietors of said New Haven by their first or Original grant to the first Proprietors Todd and others and any grant or Purchase that may have been given such as will appear by their surveys grants and deeds in New Haven Town Records together with all the Privileges and Immunities belonging to said Mill entrusting that no more land is to be granted what is above defined and also reserving all the right if any there be to the owners of the grant made for the use of an Oyl mill and stream and land which hath been abandoned and undeveloped for more than twenty years and it is not supposed that sd owners have any rights or title by virtue of grant & I do also remiss, release and quit claim all my rights and title for said grant of said Oyl mill to sd Chauncey, Edwards and Hillhouse their heirs & assigns forever and I do also give and grant unto them the privilege of carting what stone they shall need for the benefit of sd mill from the land originally granted with sd mill ~

To Have and Hold the above, Granted and Bargained Premises, with the Appurtenances thereof, unto them the said grantees their Heirs and Assigns for ever, to their own proper Use and Behoof. And also I the said Hezekiah Sabin do for myself my Heirs, Executors and Administrators, Covenant with the said grantees their Heirs and assigns, That at and until the Ensealing these Presents I am well seized of the Premises as a good iindesealable estate in Fee simple; and have good Right to Bargain and Sell the same in Manner and Form as is above Written; and that the same is free of all encumbrances whatsoever excepting any Claims that may arise on account of said grantees against sd Oyl mill. And furthermore, I the said Hezekiah Sabin do by these Presents bind myself and my Heirs for ever, to Warrant and Defend the above Granted and Bargained Premises to them the said grantees their Heirs and Assigns, against all Claims and Demands, whatsoever, excepting any Claim that may arise on account of said grantees of said XXX(OYL) mill.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal, the 5th Day of January Anno Domini, 1787

Heze Sabin

Signed, Sealed and delivered,
in Presence of
Wm. Whiting
Samuel Bishop

Newhaven County, ff. New Haven January 5th 1787
Personally appeared Hezekiah Sabin Signer and Sealer of the forgoing Instrument, and acknowledged to the same to be his free Act and Deed, before me,
Saml Bishop Jus of Peace

Figure 5. The deed for the sale of Sabin's Mill from Hezekiah Sabin to Pierpont Edwards, James Hillhouse and Charles Chauncey, signed January 5, 1787. Transcribed from the original by Jay Knipe.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come, GREETING

Know ye, That We Charles Chauncey Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse of New Haven in the County of New Haven and State of Connecticut
For the Consideration of Seven Hundred and Twenty Pounds Lawful Money of the State of Connecticut……Received to our full Satisfaction of Eli Whitney of said New Haven ~

Do Give, Grant, Bargain, Sell and Confirm unto the said Eli Whitney his Heirs and assigns for ever our Grist Mill formerly called Todd's Mill situate in the Town of Hamden in said County standing on the Mill River so called together with the Dam and Stream where the Mill stands and also the Land between the Mill and the Highways that lie West and South and also the Privilege of raising sd Dam Flowing the Lands covered by the Pond of sd mill, so high and so far as was given & granted by the Town or Proprietors of sd New Haven by their first or Original to the first Proprietors Todd and others and any grant or Purchase that may have been since made as will appear by their surveys grants and deeds on New Haven Town Records together with all the Privileges and Immunities belonging to said Mill accepting that no more land is to be granted than what is above described and also reserving all the right if any there be to the owners of the grant made for the use of an Oil mill in sd stream and land which hath been abandoned and relinquished for more than twenty years and it is not supposed that sd owners have any right or title by virtue of any grant & we do also remise release and quit claim all our rights and title by virtue for said grant of sd Oil mill to sd Whitney his heirs & assigns forever and we do also give and grant unto them the privilege of getting what stones they shall need for the benefit and use of sd mill & Dam from the land originally granted with sd mill ~

To Have and Hold the above, Granted and Bargained Premises, with the Appurtenances thereof, unto him the said grantee his Heirs and Assigns for ever, to his and their own proper Use and Behoof. And also we the said Charles Chauncey Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse do for ourselves our Heirs, Executors and Administrators, Covenant with the said grantee his Heirs and assigns, That at and until the Ensealing these Presents we are well seized of the Premises as a good indeseasible estate in Fee-simple; and have good Right to Bargain and Sell the same in Manner and Form as is above Written; and that the same is free of all encumbrances whatsoever excepting any Claims that may arise on account of said grant of sd Oyl mill. And furthermore, we the said Charles Chauncey Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse do by these Presents bind ourselves and our Heirs forever, to Warrant and Defend the above Granted and Bargained Premises to him the said grantee his Heirs and Assigns, against all Claims and Demands, whatsoever, excepting any Claim that may arise on account of said grantees of sd (OYL) mill.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, the 17th Day of September Anno Domimi, 1798

Charles Chauncey
Pirp Edwards
James Hillhouse

Signed, Sealed and delivered,
in Presence of
Timothey Jones
Nolhlab Saggett

Newhaven County, ff. New Haven September 17th, 1798
Personally appeared Charles Chauncey Pierpont Edwards and James Hillhouse Signer and Sealer of the forgoing Instrument, and acknowledged to the same to be his free Act and Deed, before me,
Timothy Jones Jus Pais

Figure 6. The deed for the sale of Sabin's Mill from Pierpont Edwards, James Hillhouse and Charles Chauncey to Eli Whitney, signed September 17, 1798. Transcribed from the original by Jay Knipe.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come: GREETING

Know ye, That We Stephen Ford of Hamden in New Haven County, Silas Hotchkiss & Eleazer Hotchkiss, both of New Haven in said County~

In Consideration of Twelve Hundred Dollars received to our full Satisfaction of Eli Whitney of said Hamden ~ Do Remise, Release and forever Quit Claim unto the said Eli Whitney and unto his Heirs and assigns forever, all the Right, Title, Interest, Claim and demand whatever as we the said Releasers have or ought to have in or to a certain mill seat, situate upon Mill River near the Cheshire Turnpike in said Hamden, being the third mill seat above Tide-water on said River & the same which was first owned, occupied & improved as a mill seat by Richard Woodhull, Josiah Talmadge & Daniel Talmadge & Solomon Gilbert – together with all our right, title & interest in & to the Paper-Mill, Dam, Pond & buildings & machinery thereon standing, including all moulds, lath (?), utensils & appurtenances belonging to said mill, also all the right, title & interest which we or either of us have in & to a certain piece of land situate on the west side of sd Turnpike road, containing twenty rods, more or less, bounded easterly on sd road, Northerly ~~XXXXX~~ on land now or lately belonging to James Talmadge, Westerly on sd Pond & Southwesterly on land which is in the late distributions of the estate of Micayal Talmadge was let off to Joseph Talmadge, and also to all other Lands & Privileges appertaining to said mill seat and Paper-Mill~

To Have and Hold the Premises, with all their Appurtenances, unto them the said Releasee and his Heirs and Assigns forever, so that neither We the Releasor nor our Heirs, nor any other person under us or them, shall hereafter have any claim, Right or Title in or to the Premises, or any part thereof; but therefrom we and they are but these Presents forever barred and secluded.

In witness whereof I We have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, this 15th Day of July Anno Domimi, 1809

Signed, Sealed and delivered,
in Presence of
Simon Baldwin
Elizth Baldwin

Stephen Ford
Silas Hotchkiss
Eleazer Hotchkiss

Newhaven County, ff. New Haven July 15th AD 1809
Personally appeared Messrs. Stephen Ford, Silas Hotchkiss & Eleazer Hotchkiss
Signer and Sealer of the forgoing Instrument, and acknowledged to the same to be their free Act and Deed, before me,
Simon Baldwin a Judge of the Supr Court

Figure 7. The deed for the sale of "…the third mill seat above Tidewater…" from Stephen Ford, Silas Hotchkiss and Elazer Hotchkiss to Eli Whitney, signed July 15, 1809. Transcribed from the original by Jay Knipe.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come: GREETING.

Know ye, That We Silas Hotchkiss & Eliazer Hotchkiss, both of New Haven in New Haven County & Stephen Ford of Hamden in sd County, ~

In Consideration of Five Hundred Dollars received to our full Satisfaction of Eli Whitney of said Hamden ~
Do Remise, Release and forever Quit Claim unto the said Eli Whitney and unto his Heirs and assigns forever, all the Right, Title, Interest, Claim and Demand whatever as we the said Releasor have or ought to have in or to a certain mill seat, the land thereto belonging-the Paper Mill thereon standing & all the rights thereto appurtaning with all privileges-situate near Cheshire Turnpike in Hamden, being the third mill seat above Tide water on Mill River so called-being all the right and title we have by virtue of a mortgage deed from Amos Bradley Junr to Silas Hotchkiss & Eliazer Hotchkiss & also a mortgage deed from Samuel Cooper Junr to sd Stephen, Silas & Eliazer, both which will appear on Hamden records & we assign to sd Whitney all our title & claim by virtue of mortgages.

To Have and Hold the Premises, with all their Appurtenances, unto the said Releasee and his Heirs and Assigns forever, so that neither We the Releasor/nor our Heirs, nor any other person under us or them, shall hereafter have any claim, Right or Title in or to the Premises, or any part thereof; but therefrom we and they are but these Presents forever barred and secluded.

In witness whereof We have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, this 15th Day of July Anno Domimi, 1809

Signed, Sealed and delivered, in Presence of
Elizth Baldwin
Simon Baldwin

Stephen Ford
Silas Hotchkiss
Eleazer Hotchkiss

Newhaven County, SS. New Haven July 14th AD 1809
Personally appeared Messrs. Silas Hotchkiss, Eleazer Hotchkiss &Stephen Ford
Signer and Sealer of the forgoing Instrument, and acknowledged to the same to be their free Act and Deed, before me,
Simon Baldwin a Judge of the Supr Court

Figure 8. The deed for the sale of "…the third mill seat above Tidewater…" from Silas Hotchkiss and Eleazer Hotchkiss and Stephen Ford to Eli Whitney, signed July 15, 1809. Transcribed from the original by Jay Knipe.

Know all men by these presents, that I Eleazer Hotchkiss of New Haven, in the State of Connecticut, for the consideration of the sum of sixty five pounds lawful money, recd to my full satisfaction of Pierpont Edwards Esqr of sd [said] Newhaven, do [unintelligble] release and forever quit claim to P Edwards and his heirs forever, all my right and Title unto one quarter of the grant, made to Stephen Ford, late of Newhaven deed by the town and Proprietors of Newhaven for the purpose of building a mill and damming across the mill river – near the house of the present Stephen Ford – and also one quarter of the right which sd [said] Stephen Ford decd, in his life, had of plowing the land of Jacob Turner, Nath'l Turner, Robert Talmadge, David Munson and Stephen Potter, which right appears by lease from them to sd [said] Stephen decd --- and also one fourth part, of a small part of what was [lately?] Stephen Ford's, now in life, called his homelot, at the southeast corner of sd [said] homelot to begin at the corner of sd [said] lot, and then run westward three rods, then to run northerly about eight rods to a white oak Tree, and then turn northeasterly to the River --- and also one fourth part of the privilege of plowing sd [said] homelot of sd [said] Ford's on the east side thereof, so far as shall be needful for the purpose of a mill or mills --- the sd [said] one fourth part of all rights and privileges the sd [said] Hotchkiss gives, [promises?] and releases to sd [said] Edwards, and his heirs forever, and are one fourth part, of all the rights and privileges which sd [said] Hotchkiss and sd [said] Stephen Ford now living, and Silas Hotchkiss of sd [said] Newhaven, do now hold, enjoy or possess as belonging to a certain Grist mill jointly owned by them, and which, [were?] three quarters of sd [said] Rights assigned by sd [said] Stephen Ford to [unintelligble?] Eleazur and Silas Hotchkiss by Deed of quitclaim dated the 1st of March 1783, and recorded in Newhaven Ledger 39th [note: might by "139th"] page 541 – and I the sd [said] Eleazer [Elijah?] Hotchkiss do by these presents sell, confirm and make over to sd [said] Edwards and his heirs forever one fourth part of the Grist mill now standing on sd [said] land conveyed by [said? or Mr?] Stephen Ford to [said? or Mr?] Hotchkiss by sd [said] Deed of quitclaim – and also one fourth part of all the dam privileges appurtenances [as?] belonging to sd [said] mill place [as?] And I the said Elizer Hotchkiss covenant for myself and heirs, with [said? or Mr?] ~~Chauncey~~ Edwards and heirs, that [said? or Mr?] Edwards may hold and possess the above granted and bargained premises for their own use and [unintelligible] forever, and shall receive no hindrance from me, or any under me, but from all Rightful Claim, I hereby debar and foreclose myself, may heirs and & assigns forever – and hereby warrant it free and clear form all such claims –

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand [unintelligible] in Newhaven this 18 day of March 1785

Signed and delivered in presence of
Sam Bishop
A Bishop Eleazur Hotchkiss

New Haven County of Newhaven 18 March 1785 personally appeared Eleazur Hotchkiss signer and Sealer of the above quitclaim and (unintelligible) the same to be his free act and deed.
Before me Sam Bishop Jus of Peace

Figure 9. The deed for the sale of "…one fourth part of a grist mill…" from Eleazer Hotchkiss to Pierpont Edwards, signed March 18, 1785. Transcribed from the original by Peter Griffin.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come,---GREETING
Know ye, That I Silas Hotchkiss of New Haven in the County of Bew Haven

In Consideration of Eight Hundred and ten Dollars received to my full Satisfaction of Jesse Gilbert of Hamden in sd County ~
Do Remise, Release and forever Quit Claim unto the said Jesse Gilbert and unto his Heirs and assigns forever, all the Right, Title, Interest, Claim and demand whatever as I the said Releasor have or ought to have in or to a certain grist Mill, situate on Mill River, between the gun manufactory & the Paper Mill in sd Hamden with the Mill Dam, Flooms & water Privileges, including all grants, leases and Rights of flowing together with the mill stores, gear Batts and all other implements appertaining to said mill-also a certain lot of land on which said mill stands limited and bounded as set forth in a certain deed from Stephen Ford to me the sd Silas & to Eleazer Hotchkiss dated 1st March 1783 and recorded in New Haven records Book 39 Page 541-together with the dwelling house belonging to said mill property- my right and interest in said mill, privileges & appurtances being one fourth thereof, and I do hereby also convey all my right, title & interest in & to the land on the East side of Mill River flowed or not flowed by sd Mill dam or in any way or manner appertaining to said mill-and also all my right and interest in & to a small barn on the East side of the River lately built by said Gilbert and myself-my interest therein being the one half thereof.

To Have and Hold the Premises, with all their Appurtenances, unto them the said Releasee and his Heirs and Assigns forever, so that neither I the Releasor nor my Heirs, nor any other person under me or them, shall hereafter have any claim, Right or Title in or to the Premises, or any part thereof; but therefrom I and they are but these Presents forever barred and secluded.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal, this Day of April 30th A.D. 1813

Signed, Sealed and delivered, Minor Hotchkiss
in Presence of Silas Hotchkiss
Elihu Sanford

New Haven County, ss. Hamden April 1813
Personally appeared Silas Hotchkiss

Signer and Sealer of the forgoing Instrument, and acknowledged the same to be his free Act and Deed, before me,

Elihu Sanford, Jus Peace

Figure 10. The deed for the sale of "…certain grist mill between the gun manufactory and the paper mill…" from Silas Hotchkiss to Jesse Gilbert, signed April 30, 1813. Transcribed from the original by Jay Knipe.

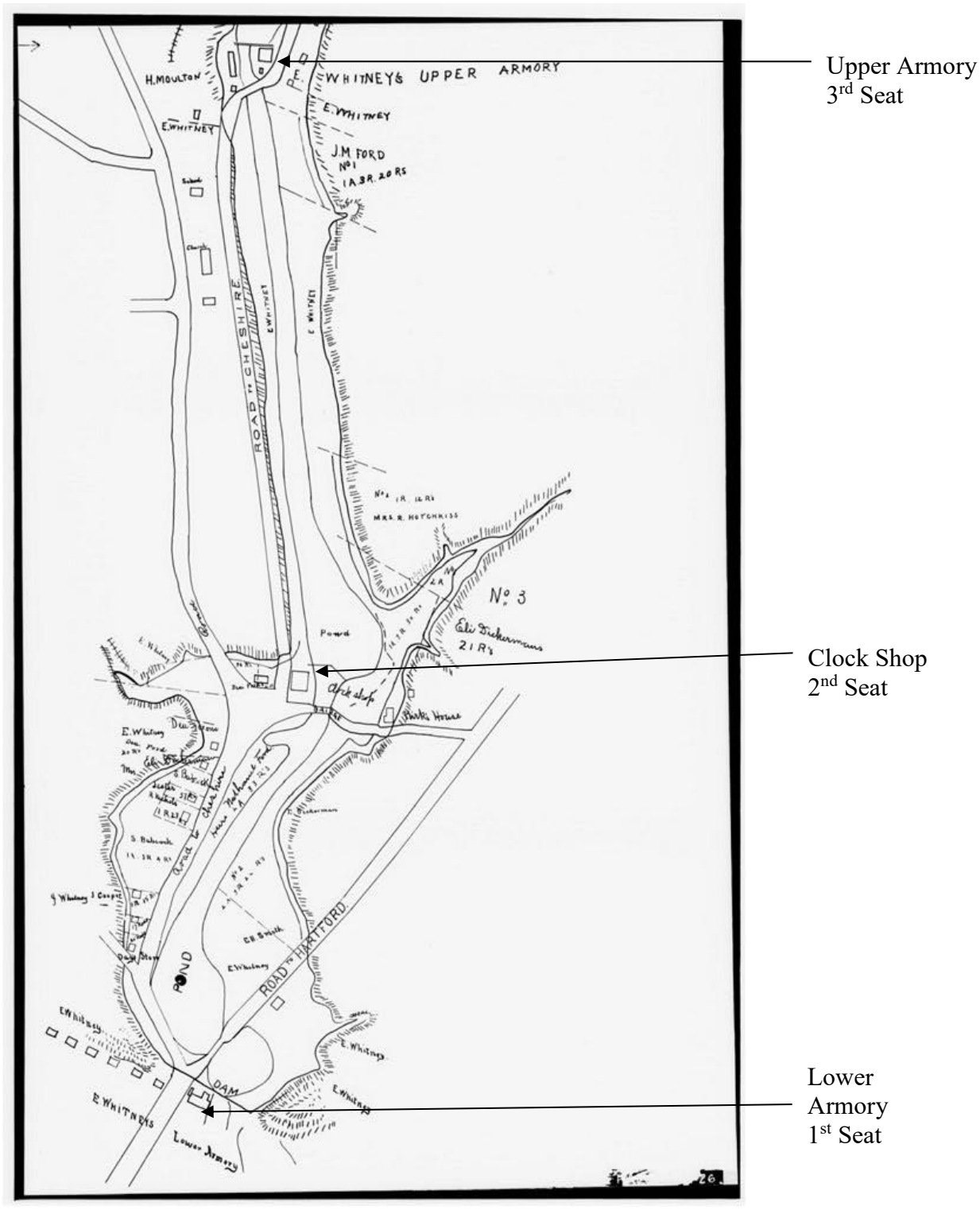


Figure 11. Detail of original 1856 engineering drawing of the lower Mill River showing sites of the three mill seats, using terminology current at the time.

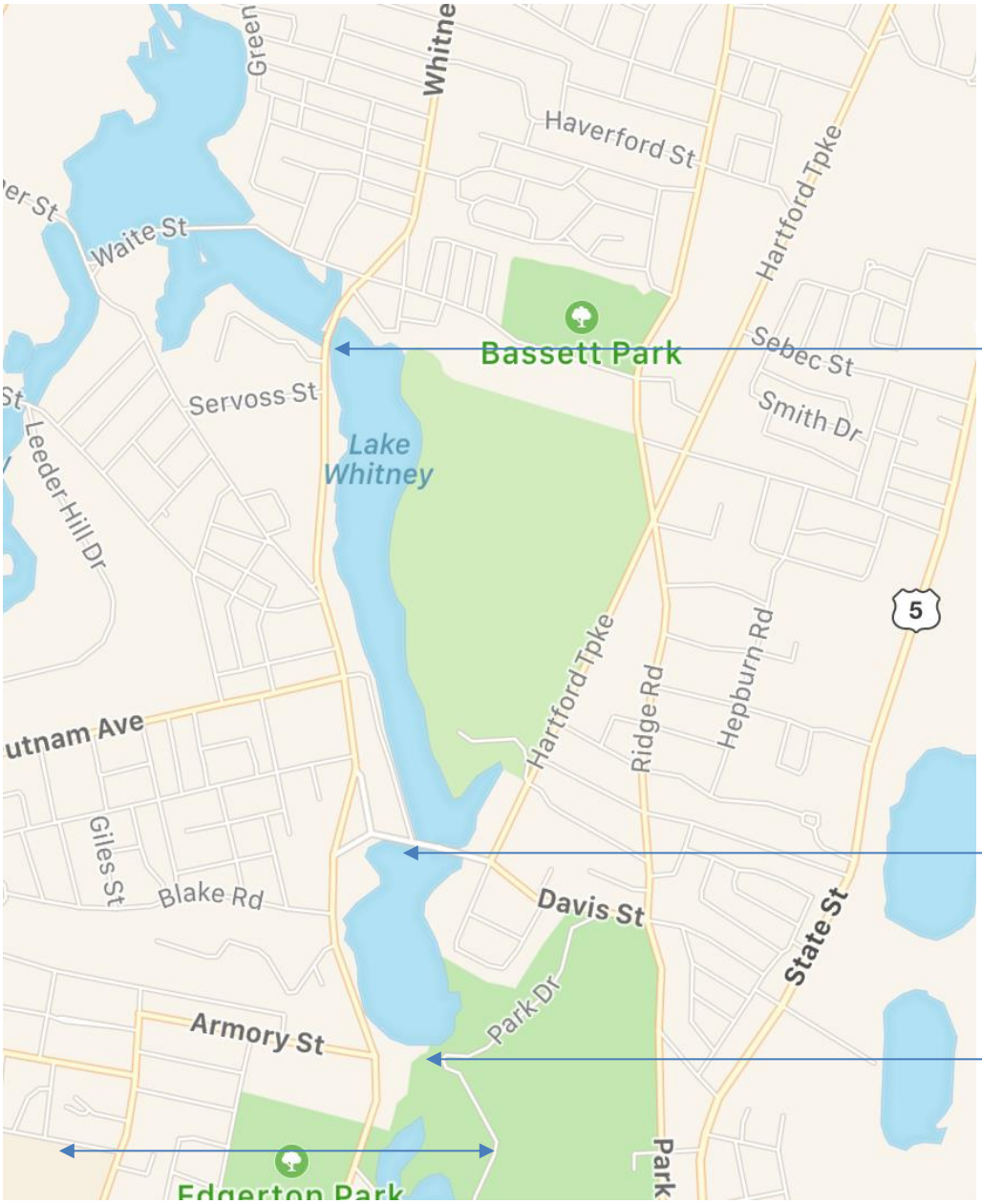
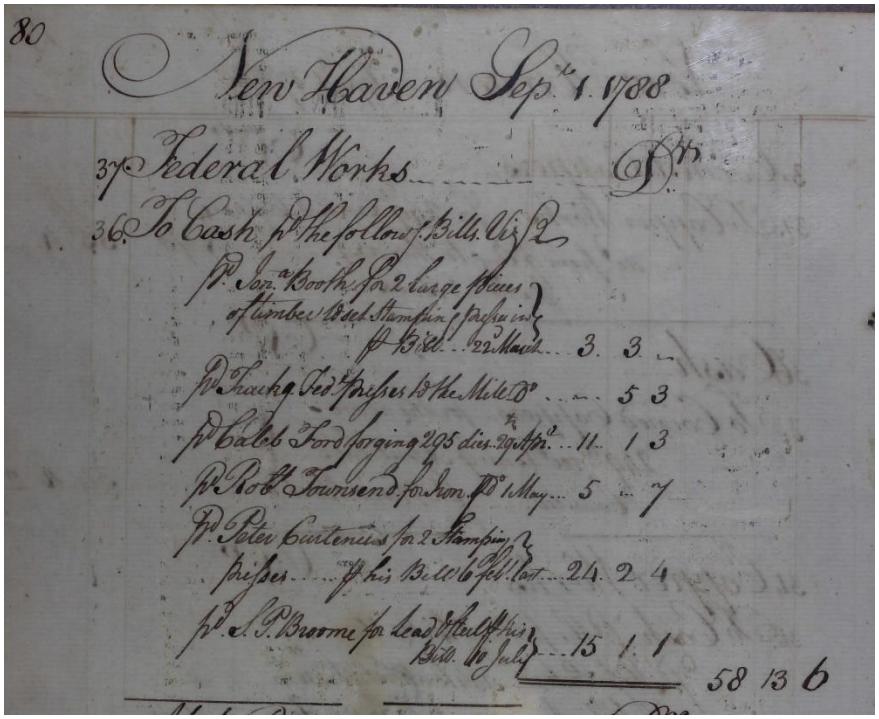


Figure 12. Current map of the same approximate area as Figure 11 (Apple Maps) showing sites of the three mill seats. The double-headed arrow on the map equals ¾ mile.


80

New Haven Sep.r 1. 1788

37 Federal Works ..... Dr.

36 To Cash p.d the following Bills. Viz.d

p.d Jon.a Booth for 2 large Pieces of timber used Stamping presses in the Mint 22 March ... 3. 3. –

p.d Tracing Ded.d Presses to the Mint D.o ... 5 3

p.d Caleb Ford forging 295 dies 2 p.d ... 11. 1 3

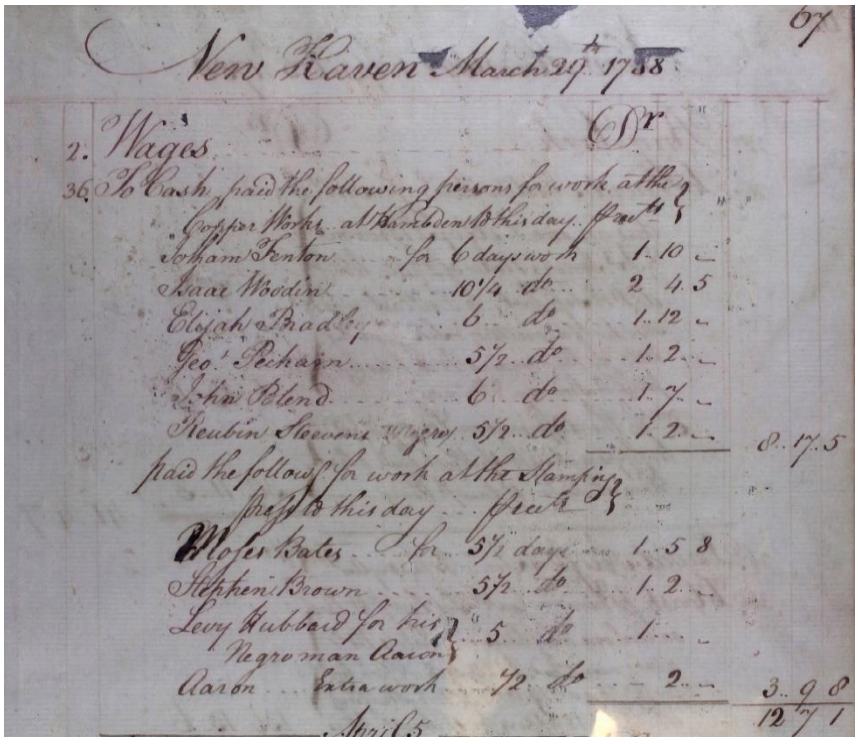
p.d Rob.t Townsend for Iron p.d May ... 5 – 7

p.d Peter Curtenius for 2 Stamping presses ... p.d his Bill 6 Feb.y last ... 24. 2 4

p.d S.P. Broome for Lead p.d his Bill 10 July ... 15 1. 1

58 13 6

(Above) Figure 13. Photograph of the entry describing payment for the purchases of stamping presses (page 80, September 1, 1788) from the 1788 Account Book. (Below) Figure 14. List of wages paid to workers at the "Copper Works at Hambden" on March 29, 1788. (1788 Account Book, page 67). The staff of the New Haven Museum is gratefully acknowledged for granting permission and assistance for the photography of the Connecticut Mint Account Books.


67

New Haven March 29.th 1788

2. Wages ..... Dr.

36 To Cash paid the following persons for work at the Copper Works at Hambden to this day. Viz.t

Joham Fenton ... for 6 days work ... 1. 10 –

Isaac Woodin ... 10 1/2 do ... 2 4 5

Elijah Bradley ... 6 do ... 1. 12 –

Geo.r Pelham ... 5 1/2 do ... 1. 2 –

John Pelend ... 6 do ... 1. 7 –

Reubin Stevens Negro ... 5 1/2 do ... 1. 2 – ... 8. 17. 5

paid the following for work at the Stamping Presses to this day. Viz.t

Moses Bates ... for 3 1/2 days ... 1. 5 8

Stephen Brown ... 5 1/2 do ... 1. 2 –

Levy Hubbard for his Negro man Aaron ... 5 do ... 1 – –

Aaron ... Extra work ... 1/2 do ... 2 – – ... 3. 9 8

12 7 1

April 5

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[Editor's note: The following article appeared in the Fall, 1995 issue of C4N. It is being reprinted as a "classic" for the benefit of newer C4 members who may never have seen it.]

REMINISCENCES OF COLONIAL COIN COLLECTING

(Q. David Bowers)

I have always loved colonial coins. My interest in numismatics began in1952, and by 1953 I hung my shingle out as a rare coin dealer, although I was still in high school. Dealing for me at that time involved traveling on weekends to coin shows, going to occasional auctions, and, most important, buying and selling through the mail.

Sometime in the early years I became interested in copper state coinage, part of the interesting field usually referred to as "colonials," although by that time the colonies were no more. My friend and later (beginning in 1958) business partner, Jim Ruddy, shared my interest.

It was probably around 1955 that I began to collect 1785-1788 Connecticut copper coins with great enthusiasm. My interest was engendered by reading what Sylvester S. Crosby had to say about these in his monumental *Early Coins of America* book. Particularly intriguing to me were the commentaries on Machin's Mills.

At the time there was not an intense interest in state copper coinage. Part of this was because the typical Connecticut copper tended to be in low grade - say Good, VG, or Fine, and to be of low value - from a few dollars up to about $10. Perhaps even more to the point, the standard reference on this particular series written by Henry C. Miller and published by the American Numismatic Society as part of *The State Coinages of New England* seemed at first blush to be extremely esoteric to the average numismatist - if indeed a copy of the monograph could be found in the first place (it had long been out of print). Few dealers had the time, patience, inclination - and certainly not the financial incentive - to take out a magnifying glass, put a worn Connecticut copper under a bright light, and try to find out the specific variety of a Draped Bust Left piece dated 1787.

Although interest in colonials was not widespread, there was a contingent of knowledgeable people with whom I would exchange correspondence. Unfortunately, the *Colonial Newsletter* (which recently celebrated the 35th anniversary of its 1960 founding; I contributed some recollections to its special anniversary issue) was not yet a twinkle in editor Jim Spilman's eye.

Walter Breen lived in New York City and was always willing to send two-page replies to my one-page inquiries. His knowledge and perspicacity never ceased to amaze me. If I wrote to him about a 1785 Vermont copper coin, his answer to me was apt to include references the *Bible*, ancient Greece, and other very tangential things.

Eric P. Newman and Ken Bressett, still very active on the scene, were likewise enthusiastic back then and both liked state coinage. Dr. George Fuld was well known as the expert in Washington coins and medals, not exactly properly a part of the colonial series, but often collected alongside.

John J. Ford, Jr., was not as much a scholar of state coppers as he was a judicious cataloguer and coordinator of numismatic properties - including state coppers - that went through the auction firm run by him and Charles M. Wormser, the late lamented New Netherlands Coin Company. To be sure, John did have some eye-popping coins, many of which were pedigreed to F.C.C. Boyd, Wayte Raymond, and other numismatic luminaries. By the way, the firm, founded by Charles' father, Moritz, in the 1930s should have been named New Netherland (singular) Coin Company, but a mistake was made early on, and was never changed. This reminds me that I have always wondered why Dutchess County in New York was spelled that way instead of Duchess County - such ponderings make the English language interesting.

New Netherlands was the leader in precise auction cataloguing, with John J. Ford, Jr., and Walter Breen doing the listings. To the best of their knowledge, they would list die states, pedigrees, and registries of known specimens. Their typical competitor would often be satisfied with a simple listing such as "'1787 Connecticut copper, Very Fine," without even mentioning the Miller attribution number, let alone the die state or anything else. However, possibly some of these competitors were more successful financially - for, no doubt, it took a tremendous amount of time to do all New Netherlands did. The record of my conversations and transactions with John Ford would fill a good-sized book and would bring back a lot of nice memories.

Edward (Ned) Bamsley was active early on, and especially liked Vermont coppers at the beginning, although his interests shifted towards [sic] Connecticut coppers. He and Jim Spilman were probably the first to take a really in-depth look at Connecticut copper metrology and die linkages.

At one time after 1958 the firm I had with Jim Ruddy - the Empire Coin Company of Johnson City, New York - ran a special offer on a starter set of Connecticut coppers. I remember receiving a telephone call from one Robert Vlack, who worked with Western Electric in Massachusetts. Bob was a numismatist but not in the early American coinage series, and ordered a starter set to see what colonials looked like. The rest is history: Bob went on to write a book on colonials, and to become one of the foremost scholars in the field.

Another entry in the late 1950s or 1960s was Ted Craige, of Long Island, whose interests grew under the tutelage of John Jay Ford, Jr., who at the time also lived on Long Island. Ted was a very careful, indeed meticulous scholar, and set about forming a very nice library in addition to his coin holdings.

Richard (Dick) Picker became a coin dealer around the same era, and specialized in early issues, particularly colonials. Dick was also quite meticulous, kept detailed records, and enjoyed what he did. In the era before numbers were assigned to colonials, Dick didn't like the old grading system either - the one with adjectives such as Very Fine, Extremely Fine, and so on. The problem was - as any dealer knows or any collector selling his or her duplicates that what one person calls Extremely Fine, another might call Very Fine, and still a third might call About Uncirculated. In certain state coinage - the copper issues of Machin's Mills being outstanding in this regard - the pieces were often in very low or shallow relief when first struck, and grading of them is strictly a matter of opinion. Anyway, Dick Picker didn't put grades on his coins-he simply said something like, "This is a $200 specimen of 1785 Vermont Ryder-4, and here is a better one at $400." The buyer could make his own choice.

During the 1950s I was one of the newer kids in the professional numismatists block, possibly having shed the newest label, but still quite young. It was a fairly regular practice for someone to come up to me at a coin in the late 1950s, "I have been dealing with your father for five years. Is he here at the show so I can say hello?" Of course, the answer was that my father was not a coin dealer at all, had no knowledge of coins, and the inquirer had been dealing through the mail with a teenager - although he didn't know it!

Any listing of colonial enthusiasts must of necessity include Emery May Holden Norweb - the wife of Ambassador Henry R. Norweb. Mrs. Norweb was always very kind to me, and over the years was a very fine customer. It was a badge of pleasure in the late 1980s when her family selected my firm to auction its remarkable cabinet, one of the most comprehensive collections of American coins ever put together.

The name of Kenneth Rendell may not be familiar to many modern readers of this commentary, but in the late 1950s, Ken, who lived in Medford, Massachusetts, was in the forefront of dealers in colonial coins and handled many nice specimens. When the Rittenhouse Society was formed in 1960 he was one of a handful of beginning members. In 1961, Ken left numismatics behind and went into the field of rare prints and autographs, where he went on to achieve success after success, handling many important collections and other properties. You may have seen his name in print a few years ago when he unmasked the fake so-called "Hitler Diaries."

Out in Des Moines, Iowa, Art Kagin and his brother Paul ran the Hollinbeck Coin Company. During the course of their business, Hollinbeck acquired many copper state coins, but as they did not have a great value, not much attention was paid to them. Rather, the firm concentrated on more profitable areas such as proof coins, rare gold varieties, and the like. I recall Art Kagin sending me boxes filled with paper envelopes on which were scrawled various notations pertaining to Connecticut copper coins - leftovers he and his brother had acquired from many different collections. These would be marked up with prices from about $2 to about $10 as my cost, but Art would tell me that if in the course of attributing them I came across something that was especially rare I should let him know - which I did, after which I agreed to pay an extra premium for it.

Jim Ruddy, who became my business partner in 1958 and continued for many years thereafter, was an avid collector of state coppers and specialized in the coins of New Jersey. A careful researcher, he identified a new die variety of the famous Date under Plow Beam issue, and found many other properties - simply by looking for them in out of the way places. At the time the two standard references on New Jersey coppers were the Maris book published in the 19th century and the Guttag listing of the 1920s.

About the only one keeping detailed track of the information beyond that point - in addition to Jim Ruddy - was Walter Breen, who was working on a manuscript on the series. I recall seeing the manuscript - which must have been a couple hundred pages long -in the 1960s, and I have often wondered what happened to it, and regret that it did not see the light of day with regard to publication.

Here end some reminiscences from the 1950s. If such things meet with interest let me know and I'll write some more.

TO ALL MEMBERS: A C4 LIBRARY CHALLENGE

(Leo Shane, C4 Librarian)

The C4 Library has grown to almost 300 Books and over 700 Auction Catalogs (full and partial). In addition, there are many non print recordings and other miscellaneous items. Many titles are out of print and hard to find. Some titles are rare. A complete listing can be viewed on the club website.

As the C4 Librarian I'd like to issue a challenge to all C4 Members. The challenge covers the next 12 months (roughly 1 November 2017 to 1 November 2018). During that time, I'd like every member to borrow at least one item from the C4 Library, read it and then write a ½ to 1 page summary for publication in the C4 Newsletter. The summary should identify:

1.) What was borrowed? (title, author, edition)
2.) What was the subject matter in the item.?
3) Why did you borrow that particular item?
4) What did you learn from reading/studying it?
5) What other C4 Members would benefit from borrowing this item?

Many of the items in our library are not familiar to other members especially newer members. This Challenge will accomplish two things: First – You will learn something new that you didn't know before. Second – You will be alerting other C4 members to items that may help them increase their hobby knowledge.

As the inscription on the Fugio Cent says, "Time Flys So Mind your Business." Make this challenge your business to increase our understanding of the Coins and Paper Money we collect.

######

ANNOUNCEMENTS

2017 Preliminary Convention Information

Baltimore Convention Center
One West Pratt Street
Baltimore, MD
November 9th – November 11th, 2017

C4 Auction
Stacks-Bowers
Friday, November 10th,Time and Room TBA

Bourse hours:

Thursday: 12pm-6pm (10am entry w/$75 Early Bird pass)
Friday and Saturday: (10am-6pm, 9am Early Bird entry)
Sunday: (10am-3pm, 9am Early Bird entry)
C4 Club Table open while bourse open to public.

Thursday

5pm – 7pm – C4 Social/Food. C4 and EAC members and spouses welcome ! ($25 per person). Entrance to dinner with ticket only, however can be purchased at door. Sheraton Inner Harbor Hotel – Harborview Room

7pm-10pm - Educational Forum, Same room, Sessions TBA

Friday

8am – Publications Meeting (Sheraton Inner Harbor- Orioles Grille)

Educational Forums Room 304 – Sessions TBA

C4 Auction, Time and Location TBA

Saturday

7am – C4 Board of Directors breakfast meeting (Sheraton Inner Harbor- Orioles Grille)
8am – C4 Board of Directors meeting (Room 304 Convention Center)
9am – C4 Annual Business meeting (Room 304 Convention Center)

Educational Forums Room 304, Sessions TBA

THE C4 NEWSLETTER IS ON THE NEWMAN NUMISMATIC PORTAL!

Past issues of The C4 Newsletter, and a plethora of other important numismatic resources are now available online, through The Newman Numismatic Portal, at:

www.archive.org/details/newmannumismatic

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COMPLETE C4 NEWSLETTER CDs FOR SALE

C4 is making available on CD of a complete set of *C4 Newsletters* from 1993 (vol.1, no.1) through 2011 (vol.19, no. 4). The format is a fully searchable PDF files, which makes life and research much easier. Thanks to Randy Clark, Ray Williams and Gary Trudgen for their vision and extremely hard work, which now lets us offer these wonderful research tools to you for $50 plus $4.00 p&h for members or $75 plus $4.00 p&h for non-members. To order, please contact either (a) Wayne Shelby at dughistory@juno.com or at P.O. Box 568 Rancocas, NJ 08073 or (b) Charlie Rohrer at RohrerC@cadmus.com or at P.O. Box 25 Mountville, PA 17554. Please send your check made out to C4 to Charlie Rohrer at the above address.

I need help in a project that will turn into a *C4 Newsletter* article on estimating the surviving population of State Coinages. I am developing a model but need to better understand how many NJ coppers collectors hold. Only aggregated data will be used. I am looking for information on total number of NJ coppers, number recovered (dug), number purchased, and number sold in last 12 months or longer periods if available. I am looking for data from any size collections or accumulations.

J. Howes; 19967 East Doyle; Grosse Pointe Woods, MI 48236; 313 319-1743

Obtaining Back Copies of C4 Newsletter and C4 Auction Catalogues

Wayne Shelby has agreed to store the back copies of the *C4 Newsletter*. People wishing to purchase back issues that are still available should send their money to our treasurer, Charlie Rohrer, whose contact data are at page 2. Upon receipt of the money, he will contact Wayne, who will mail out the material. Back copies of the *Newsletter* are $10 for the first and $8 for all after that placed at the same time. If you have questions of what material is available, you can contact Wayne at:

P.O. Box 568
Rancocas, NJ 08073-956

dughistory@juno.com
609-261-6662 (Home)

C4 Offers Important Colonial Books

For more information on the following books, published by the Colonial Coin Collectors Club (C4), visit the C4 website at www.colonialcoins.org. These books may be ordered directly from: Charles Davis' website: www.numisbook.com.

(1) Carlotto, Tony, *The Copper Coins of Vermont and Those Bearing the Vermont Name*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 1998. Price: $165.

(2) Jordan, Lou. *John Hull, The Mint, and The Economics of Massachusetts Coinage*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2002. Price: $10.

(3) McDowell, Christopher R., *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2015. Price $85.

(4) Martin, Sydney. *French Coinage Specifically for Colonial America*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2016. Price $85.

(5) Martin, Sydney. *The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood (1722-1724)*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2007. Price: $85.

(6) Martin, Sydney. *The Rosa Americana Coinage of William Wood*, Colonial Coin Collectors Club, 2012. Price $85.

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The Daniel Frank Sedwick database of fake cobs is now on ForgeryNetwork :
http://www.forgerynetwork.com/default.aspx?keyword=cob ..
http://www.forgerynetwork.com/asset.aspx?id=QEjfzd5ZR~x~8=

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RESOURCE FOR THE C4 NEWSLETTER

Our C4 Newsletter now has an index available on our website at www.colonialcoins.org.
There are actually two indexes: one by author and a second by topic/title. This is a beginning and the index will improve over time. We have intentions of updating the index within a week or two of every issue being shipped. We ask past authors and contributors to the C4N to please review their work in the index and forward any corrections/additions/suggestions to Ray Williams at njraywms@optonline.net or call.

C4 Membership Dues

Annual dues are currently $30.00 for Regular Membership ($40 if residing outside the United States) and $10.00 for Junior Membership (under 18 years of age; $15 is non US resident). They are payable on a calendar year basis… due January 1. The year through which you are paid appears after your name on the mailing address label on the *C4 Newsletter* envelope. Life Memberships can be purchased for 25 times the annual membership cost, or $750.00. You may mail checks (made out to "C4") to:

Charlie Rohrer, C4 Treasurer
PO Box 25
Mountville, PA 17554

Thank you for paying in a timely manner… It makes his job easier and will be much appreciated!

****

PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS

In accordance with our by-laws, those who have recently joined C4 as provisional members are listed below. If any current C4 member in good standing has a reason any of the following should be denied membership in C4, please contact either your Regional VP or the President of the Club, Jack Howes. The new provisional members, with their home states, are :

- Michael Gomes - CA
- Dave Henry - NJ
- Kellen Hoard - WA
- Daniel Sheffer - MI
- Spencer Tucker - TX

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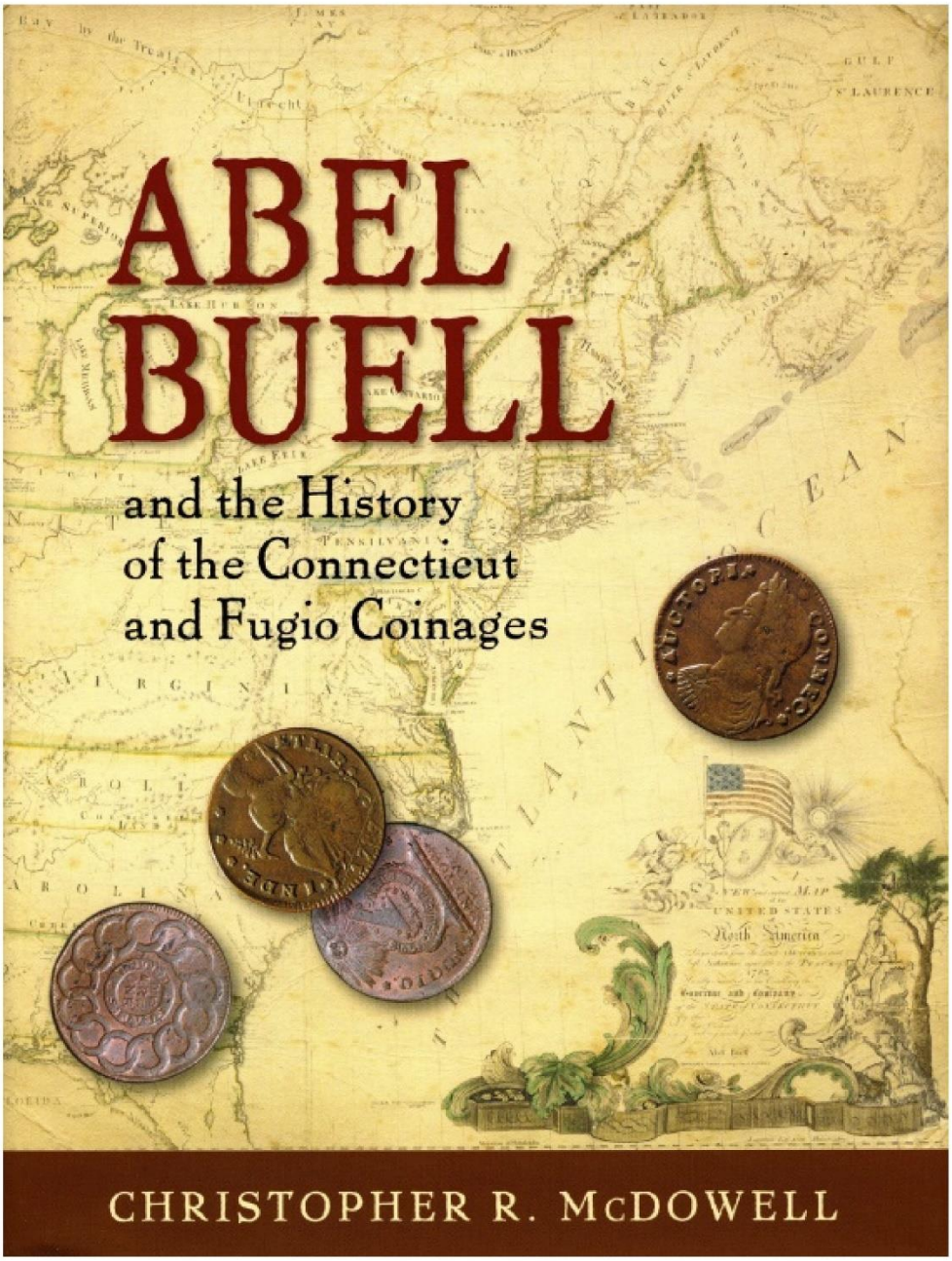
Support the C4 Club education initiatives buy this book:



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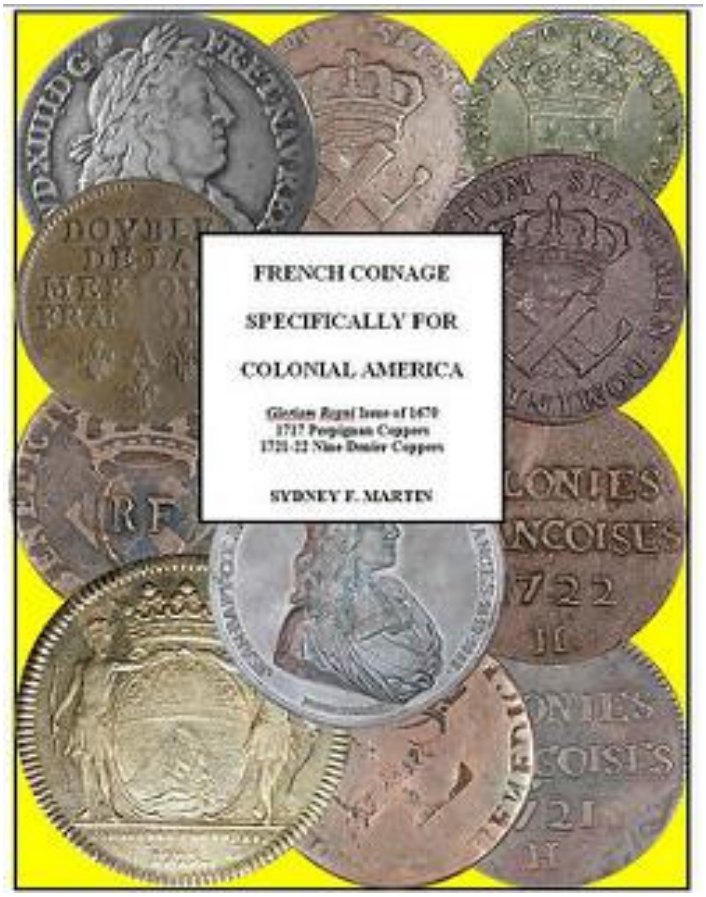

The Colonial Coin Collectors Club, C4, released Sydney F. Martin's latest book, *French Coinage Specifically For Colonial America*. This is the third C4 colonial coin book published by Sydney F. Martin. Other works include *The Rosa Americana Coinage of William Wood* and *The Hibernia Coinage of William Wood*. The Rosa and Hibernia books are now considered standard references for those coinages and Syd's long awaited new book is expected to become the leading reference for works on French Coinage minted for circulation in North America.

According to Lou Jordan, curator of numismatic collections for the University of Notre Dame, "Sid Martin has written the definitive catalog of French coinage authorized specifically for use in North America." Jordan went on to state that "this is an essential book for anyone interested in the French coinage of colonial North America."

"What many early American coin collectors fail to recognize," Martin said upon the book's release, "is that from the 16th century until 1763, New France included much of what is now the United States, as well as most of Canada. As such, coins minted by France for circulation in its North American colonies should be considered 'coins of the realm' in these areas." Colonial numismatic expert, John Kraljevich, went on to explain that "the history of the French in what is today the United States is largely forgotten. However, the memory of these people and their coinage has been long cherished in Canada."

Jim Rosen, president of C4, predicts that "Martin's new book will awaken an interest in both the history of the French speaking people in North American and the coins they used such as the Gloriam Regni coins of 1670, the 6 and 12-denier copper coins minted in 1717, and the copper 9-denier coins from 1721 and 22, all of which were struck in France specifically for circulation in the Americas."

In the book's introduction, John Kraljevich writes that, "With Crosby-like flair, Syd has marshaled together the original documents that tell the stories of these coinages. Most have never been published at all, let alone in English or all in one place. This original research guarantees this

work's importance to researchers in every forthcoming generation. The heart of this book, the die studies, offers several pathways for collectors to navigate these series, by basic type, by major variety, by die combination, or even by die state. It's a project that no one has ever even attempted before, an outlier in the world of colonial numismatics, a field that has seen multiple die studies of most of the popular series. Given Syd's well-organized approach and the thousands of coins he's studied, it may be generations before this work is supplanted. It's doubtful anyone will ever do it any better."

The 480 page book is hardbound, well-illustrated throughout with photographs of the different coin varieties examined, with dust jacket depicting French Coinage. The book is available for $85.00 plus $7.00 shipping from bookseller Charles Davis, (http://www.numisbook.com/), Box 1, Wenham, MA 01984, or telephone 978.468-2933.

RESEARCH ASSISTANCE SOUGHT

I'm currently undertaking a comprehensive study of the Castorland jeton. I'm approaching the study from both sides of the Atlantic, relying heavily on French sources, and my study entails operational details from the manufacture of flans to the mechanical workings of the screw press; the history of jetons as they evolved from arithmetical counters to monarchial presentation pieces; events leading up to the establishment of the New York Company; the biography of Benjamin Duvivier; etc. culminating in detailed descriptions of variants struck from at least one original die. As you can see it's a big work, but I've been at it quite a few years and am wonderfully engaged in the project. Here is a "finding list" of details I'm looking for, as well as photos if possible:

1. If the specimen is in a slab, all the label information.
2. Identify the metal, gold, silver, copper, bronze. If silver, indicate thin or thick planchet.
3. If edge-stamped, identify the symbol and the lettering and location of the stamping (such as 6 o'clock relative the obverse.)
4. Die alignment: coin turn/medal turn.
5. Describe state of any reverse die failure, perceptible bulge, advanced crack, etc.
6. Describe reverse caustic incursion, sometimes identified as rust, at the right handle of the vessel.
7. Describe any other identifying factors such a rim bumps, scratches, spots, unfilled letters of legends, etc. that would help identify the piece if it were re-encapsulated at some future time.
8. Indicate the provenance, if known. If you currently own the specimen feel free to identify it ex your name for the benefit of future owners.

Please contact Chester L. Sullivan at csull@ku.edu.

I am in the process of researching information pertaining to the Talbot, Allum & Lee series. I am seeking assistance from C-4 members who may have knowledge regarding the evolution of the series and the coins that were issued. I possess the basic series including all mules. If you have any unique or off metal pieces, or a half cent struck over a Talbot piece I would love to have access to them if possible.

Please contact Arnold Miniman at ahminiman@gmail.com, or (201) 317-4199.

I am interested in acquiring unusual (e.g., mis-struck, counterstamped, love tokens) and high condition examples of St. Patrick coinage. I'm also seeking unusual edge markings on Kentucky pieces. Syd Martin: sfmartin5@comcast.net or 215-348-8149.

CLASSIFIED ADS

Due to increased publications and mailing costs, the charge for half and full-page ads will increase for Volume 24. The new rates are shown below. These rates are still below comparable newsletters.

Grayscale ads for this newsletter can be purchased as follows (color ads are 50% more in each category):

	1 issue	2 issues	3 issues	4 issues	Copy Size
1 page	$300	$450	$600	$750	6" x 9"
1/2 page	$175	$250	$325	$400	6" x 4.5"

Covers cost somewhat more (please inquire – generally $200 additional). If you want to include a photo with your ad there will be an additional $10 charge. A black and white photo will be needed, but the size can be adjusted. Please send check with your ad. We accept camera-ready copy or any Microsoft Word compatible computer file.

All members also have the right to include a free classified ad in the newsletter of up to 10 lines of text.

NOTICE: The Colonial Coin Collectors Club does not review the ads provided for accuracy, nor does it assess any items offered for sale relative to authenticity, correct descriptions, or the like. C4 is not to be considered a party to any transactions occurring between members based on such ads, and will in no way be responsible to either the buyer or seller.

COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

Interested in acquiring a complete, original, unholed set of the Colonial Newsletter. Will pay any reasonable price. Contact novacaesarea@yahoo.com.

SELLING OFF SOME DUPLICATES TO A GOOD HOME

I have the following duplicate coins that I will sell or trade for. Grading is conservative. Email me for detailed description, prices and photos. Leo Shane Email Leo_J_Shane@hotmail.com

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- 1787 CT M.1.1-A Small Head F (many auctions sell these as F-15)
- 1785 VT RY 6 Vermontensium Landscape VG-10
- 1787 VT RY-13 Britianna F
- 1787 VT RY-14 Mailed Bust Right VG
- 1788 MA RY-6N Without Period F-15
- 1787 Nova Eborac Crosby 1-B, Rev Figure Left VF-30/VF

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"Colonial, cut, countermarked and Caribbean coins (and some other odds and ends as well). I am starting to sell a few pieces and have put up a website to that end. Please take a look at eastrockcoins.com. Peter Griffin."

Attribution Guide for New Jersey Coppers by Michael Demling.
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Some of the Earliest American Coppers. Contemporary Counterfeit British & Irish Halfpence and Farthings. My personal collections built over the past decade are now for sale. We now have a webpage up and running with most all coins imaged and priced.

More will go up from time to time. I also have some Colonials and Spanish American Colonials-Cobs up. There are currently about 12 categories populated with coins for sale, they are; British George II, British George III, Irish George II, Irish George III, Counterstamps, Cast Ctfts, Mules, Errors, Regales Colonials and Cobs. In the near future I will be adding some interesting Misc pieces.

I am still selling CD's of my collections, the details are on the webpages.

Postage is always free for C4 and EAC members. Please use the savings towards next year's dues ;-).

Please visit the webpages at copperclem.com and feel free to email with any questions.

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